THE FOVRE bookes of Flauius Vegetius Renatus, briefelye contayninge a plaine forme, and perfect knowledge of Martiall policye, feates of Chiualrie, and vvhatsoeuer pertayneth to warre.

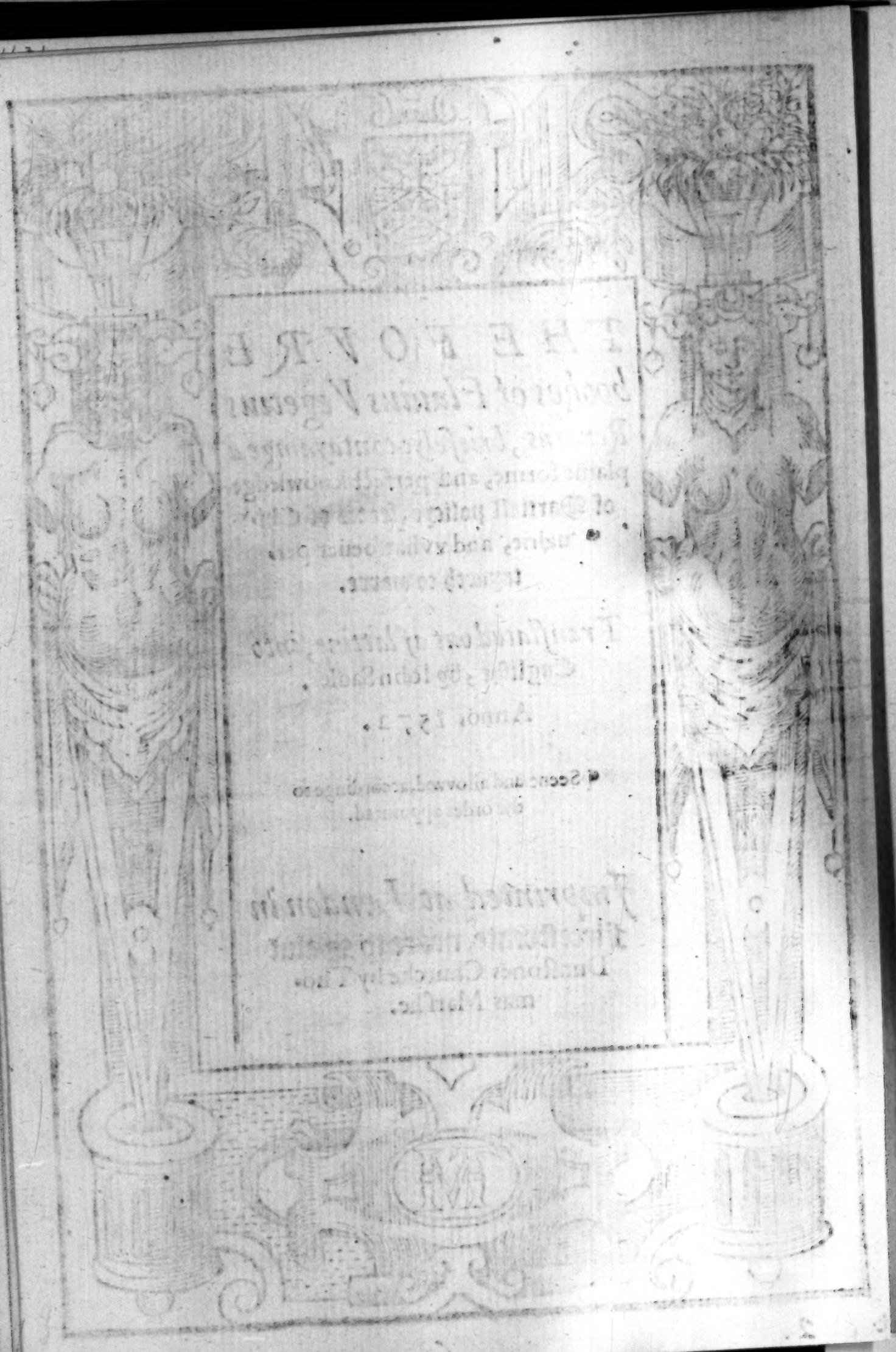
Translated out of lattine, into Englishe, by Iohn Sadler.

Anno. 1572.

¶ Seene and allovved, accordinge to the order appointed.

Imprinted at London in Fletestreate, neare to Saint Dunstones Churche by Thomas Marshe.

p. 862.



TO THE RIGHT HO-

nourable and his ſinguler good Lord, the Lorde Ruſſell, Earle of Bedforde, one of the Queenes maieſtyes moſt honourable priuye counſell, and Knighte of the honourable order of the Garter. Iohn Sadler wyſheth perfecte felicitye.

AFter I had firſt taken in hande (righte honourable and my ſingular good Lorde) the tranſlation of this worthy and famous writer Flauiº Vegetius, at the requeſt of the right worſhipfull ſir Edmõde Brudenell knight: I thought I ſhould haue had no further labour, but that the ſayd tranſlatiõ beinge ſo diligently and plainlye handled according to the authors meaning, as my ſimple wit and knowledge could do it, ſhould haue contented and ſatiſfyed the ſayde ſir Edmonde onelye for his owne priuate vſe and readinge. But he beinge a man alwayes ſtudious, not ſo muche to pleaſure himſelfe, as to benefite his countrye, and alſo deſyrous to make all men partakers of ſuch commoditye, as he himſelfe alone, or a fewe beſides him, mighte take by readinge of the ſame: did afterwarde purpoſe to cauſe the ſayde

worke

worke to be printed. And althoughe the rude and simple translation thereof, mighte worthelye haue withdrawen him from his sayde intente: yet neuertheleſſe conſideringe what profitable thinges are therein contayned: how wyſe and prudent counſels for all gouernours and Captaynes are there declared: how expedient and neceſſary the knowledge of theſe thinges may be for all times and ſeaſons, and eſpecially for this our time wherein we now do liue: he thoughte it better to cauſe the ſayde worke to be openlye ſet forth and publiſhed, although in a very baſe and homelye ſtile, then that this worthye author, whom not onlye the Italians, Almaines and Frenchmẽ, but alſo many other Nations, haue moſt diligentlye tranſlated in their owne peculiar languages, ſhould any longer be hidde and kepte from all his natiue countrye men: Geuinge thereby occaſion to ſuch as ſhall thinke the ſayd worke to homelye and baſelye handled, being yet, as it were, but hewen out of the rough, to plane and poliſhe the ſame, if they will be diſpoſed more curiouſlye, and to ſet it forth with finer and purer eloquence. VVhiche thinge ſo much the better may be done, that the Iſe is now cut vp before, and the way made open, which at the firſt might ſeeme more harde and daũgerous to paſſe. The weaker that any thing doth appeare, the more expedient and neceſſarye it is to ſeeke for

helpe

helpe and succour for the same: the more simple that this translation is, the more neede it hath of sure protection and defence. Wherefore when as sir Edmonde Brudenell, the chiefe causer and doer in settinge forth of this worke, had conferred together with me as cõcerning the publishing hereof, and had not yet determined to whom chiefelye it might most conueniently be dedicated: your honour amongest al others came to our remembraunce, for manye and sundry causes, as most worthye of so excellent and passinge knowledge therein contained: Not that these thinges maye seeme vnknowen to your honour, but beinge ouerseene perused and allowed of the same, might more safely come abroade and therby deserue the better fauour and acceptation of all the Readers thereof: as allowed of him, whose noble actes as wel within the Realme as without on euerye syde, haue alwayes from time to time so well appeared. Pleaseth it your honour therefore to accept in good parte this homelye and simple worke, offered by vs of verye true and hartye loue: on sir Edmondes behalfe, as a declaration of the inwarde and vnfayned good will that he doth beare towardes your honour: and on my behalfe as a testimoniall both of like good will, and also of my verye bounden dutye: which nowe manye yeares latelye passed, haue receiued a liberall annuitye or

stipende

stipende of your honoure, whereby I haue bene the better able to expresse suche poore knowledge as I had, or at least my good will, not onelye in setting forth of this present worke, but also in that trade, which I haue professed a long time, as I trust to the honour of Almightye God, and also to the benefite and profit of my country. And wheras here I haue communicated the settinge forth of this treatyse wᵗ him that hath beene the only and chiefe occasion of first takinge the same in hand, I thinke he maye of verye right chalenge the greatest commendation thereof (if anye be) who ayded mee not onlye wyth his good aduyce, but also wyth Bookes, which els where I could not haue had for the accomplishmēt of the saide translation. And to speake vnfaynedlye my owne labour and trauayle can loke for no manner of prayse at all, excepte peraduenture the onlye commendation of painfull and faythfull diligence, whiche as Vegetius sayth himselfe, is here more requisite, then elegancye and finenes of wordes: not addinge thereunto anye thinge of myne owne, after the maner of a Paraphraste to dilate the matter more at large wyth a curious and eloquent stile: but vsinge onlye the office of a translatour, plainlye and compendiouslye expressing so neare as I could, the true sense and meaning of the Author. Wherefore if this my endeuour maye be accepted

of your houbur, I thincke it a greater commendation, then eyther I can deserue or iustlye looke for: as thereby muche boldned and encouraged to take like paynes hereafter, if good and meete occasion may serue thereunto.

From Oundell the first daye of October 1571.

Your honours moste humble, fayth-full, and continuall Oratoure:

John Sadler.

A Preface to the Reader.

The commodityes of peace.

The difference of peace and warre is apparant to all men. Howe much the one is to be desired, the other to be eschewed (excepte in some respectes hereafter declared, no man I thincke is ignorannt. If I should but touche the gaynes & commodityes of peace: how quietlye & pleasantly men do liue together: howe all thinges on the earth do encrease and multiplie: howe wealth and riches do abounde: how all maner of sciences and good learninge do flourish, with other innumerable effectes therof to long here now to be recyted: it would requyre a large and a great volume, not a shorte and compendious preface. Againe, howe great calamities and destructions through warres haue happened, not onelye to Cittyes, townes and fortresses, but also to mighty Princes with their armyes, greate multitudes of people, and whole nations & countryes: a man might spende a good part of his time to reade throughe the bookes that hath beene written thereof. But the more commodious, precious and necessarye that pleasaunt and ioyfull name of peace is to be accompted, so much more earnestlye it ought to be sought for, obtayned and preserued: the greater daũgers harmes and losses that are by warres sustayned, the greater heede foresighte and pollicye to withstande the same, is to be vsed. Neyther hath there beene, that I haue heard or reade of, anye common wealthe or Realme so fortunate and blessed, that it hath enioyed continuall peace and quietnes any long time, excepte the Prince of peace, euen God himselfe, which also is the Lord of Hostes, haue taken in hand the defence thereof. Which thing no doubt of his abundant goodnes he sheeweth vpon certaine people and countryes, when as he sendes them good and gractous Princes, wyse and godly gouernours. Which ruled by the spirite of God, may so order & keepe the whole common wealth and state of their Realme, throughe their great wysedome learninge and pollicye, that no disobedience of subiectes to theyr Prince may be founde vncorrected, no disquietnes or trouble amongest them vnappeased, no force of forraine ennemyes vnforeseene, vnwithstoode, vnrepelled.

The calamytyes of warre

The happye estate of Englande, vnder Queene Elizabeth.

In which happye estate that this our Realme of England at this present is, and hath also continued euen from the first beginning of this our most noble and gracious Queenes maiestyes raigne: All true and faythfull English hartes to their great ioye must needes acknowledge, yeldinge to God the onlye Author thereof, most manifoulde and hartye thankes for the same: moste humblye besechinge his eternall goodnes longe to preserue her excellente maiestye to rule ouer vs: whose most noble raigne

beinge

being not onlye moſt happye throughe the lightſome ſhyninge of gods moſt holye woꝛd, the zelous ſetting foꝛth thereof, and pꝛoſperous ſucceſſe of the ſame: but alſo foꝛtunate and bleſſed, as well with great aboundance and plentye of all kindes of frutes of the earth, as the continuall quiet and ſafe enioyinge of them, maye be to all good Engliſhe men a ſure & euidente token of Gods highe fauour and eſpeciall grace declared ouer this Realme: and to all ths woꝛlde a ſpectacle of moſte wyſe and polliticke gouernmente. Whereas contrariwyſe it is not vnknowen howe that a greate parte of the woꝛlde nighe vnto vs, hath theſe yeares late paſſed, eyther beene cruellye afflicted with greuous warres, oꝛ not altogether free and cleare from great vexations & troubles. And although ſome of late here in this Realme hath gone about by rebellion to impayꝛe this ſtate: yet as neyther they whiche haue attempted ſuch enterpꝛiſes in foꝛmer tymes haue bene knowen oꝛ harde tell of at anye time to haue pꝛeuayled: ſo neyther theſe, noꝛ whoſoeuer hereafter wilbe ſo madde to treade in ſuch like ſteppes, can eſcape eyther like ſucceſſe as they haue had, oꝛ rather woꝛſe, to ſpeake moꝛe truelye, which they ſeeme iuſtlye to haue deſerued. Seinge therefoꝛe that the good pleaſure and pꝛouidence of God hath ſo pꝛepared foꝛ vs, and beſtowed vppon vs ſuch a peareleſſe Pꝛince, ſo noble and woꝛthy coũſellers, that except men will be wilfullye blinde, they all maye ſee wyth their eyes the goodnes of their gouernmente: let all vs Engliſhemen as true and faythfull ſubiectes applye oure ſelues by all meanes poſſible to obeye her maieſtye. to keepe her lawes, to be ready alwayes at her commaundement. Who ceaſeth not to pꝛouide, foꝛeſee, and care foꝛ our ſafegarde, wealth and quietnes, as well in time of peace as in warre. Which thinges partlye I touched befoꝛe, and nowe occaſion ſerueth to ſpeake moꝛe of the ſame againe. Foꝛ although the one ſeeme moꝛe to be wyſhed foꝛ then the other, yet be they both, by the wil & pleaſure of God, lefte in the handes of pꝛinces to be vſed as time and other cꝛcumſtances ſhall requyꝛe. And foꝛ that Pax, ſeemeth to be deriued a Pactione, as ſome do wꝛite: what time as Pꝛinces haue agreed and concluded of good and holſome conditions of peace, ſo longe doth the league of peace endure, as ſuch conditions are well obſerued & kept: but if the ſame be ones violate and bꝛoken, then commonly do warres enſue: whiche althoughe they ſeeme neuer ſo troubleſome and full of daunger, yet muſt they needes be taken in hand, not only with ſtrength and manhoode, but alſo wyth ſkill and pollicye. Foꝛ as after calme & pleaſant weather when ſodainly a tempeſtuous ſtoꝛme doth ryſe, then by pꝛofe doth appeare what the gouernour of the ſhippe is able to do: if hee lacke ſkill & knowledge, the ſhippe and all therein is like to periſhe: if he be cunning and expert, he may deliuer it from ſhipwracke:

Rebellion neuer pꝛoſpered

Pax deriued A pactione.

Peace reſembled to fayꝛe weather, warre to foule weather.

euen so when after longe continual peace, greuous warres do fortune, then do valiante Captaynes shewe their worthye manhoode, not with hardines alone but with pollicy and knowledge. Seing therefore that as fayre weather manye times is altered with stormes and tempest, so peace oftentimes is chaūged w warres: what thing can be more expedient & necessarye to the cōmon wealth, then to haue in readines politike and valiante Captaynes, experte and manlye souldiours: which with their skilfull experience and tryed knowledge, maye in daungerous times of warres do highe seruice to God, their Prince, and their countrye, while they fighte not onlye for their owne liues, their wyues and children, but also for the common libertye and wealth of al, the honoure of their Prince, the defence and sauegarde of the whole estate.

The reading of histories & other writers of warre not vnmeete for Captaynes.

For which intente and purpose the readinge not onlye of the best historicall writers both in Greke and latine, wherin most noble actes of famous Captaynes are liuely set forth as notable examples to be followed: but also of such worthye Authors as haue with great studye & trauaile, gathered out of the best histories the chiefest pointes and deuices of warres: and beinge dispersed farre abroade in manye diuers and sundrye bookes, haue brought the same into a certayne forme and knowledge of the feates of armes: may seeme to all men of warre, and namelye to such, to whom the charge of great multitudes oftentimes is committed, neyther vnworthye the reading, nor altogether vnprofitable. Wherein in myne opinion this our Author Flauius Vegetius

Vegetius the chiefest writer of warre.

obteyneth the chiefest prayse: who beinge commaunded by Valentinianus Augustus, to put in writyng the practises and deuises of Martiall pollicye, hath framed & compacte together such a worke, which he calleth Institutiōs, that it may be accompted, as it were a very methode or most ready & compendious waye to the right knowledge and science of the feates of warre. And althoughe the warres in these oure dayes seeme muche vnlike to the Romaine warres before Vegetius time, by reason of a greate nomber of engines and other feates then vsed, whereof now many are out of vse, and many mo now inuented which then were vnknowen: yet maye this worke appeare not altogether vnworthye to be knowen of our men of warre, wherein as it were in a glasse they may most clearelye see, not onlye how that the Romaynes throughe suche skill and knowledge, and continuall exercise therof as is herein declared, haue vanquished and ouercome so manye barbarous and straunge Nations, subdued so manye prouinces, and become Lordes and rulers of the most part of the world: but also may gather and choose out the best & chiefest pointes of all their knowledge, which neuertheless may be vsed so farre forth as shall seeme expedient, and as occasion may serue & time requyre. Wherefore wher-

An obiection answered.

The contentes of the .iiii.

as the whole worke of Vegetius is deuided into foure Bookes, I

thincke

thinke it not vnmeete to shewe briefelye what is chiefelye intreated in euery one of the same. bookes of Vegetius.

In the first booke he setteth forth two thinges principallye. First the musteringe, choslnge, and appointinge of yonge souldiours: wher in he requireth of the choosers, most faythfull and painfull dilligence, that they do circumspectly consider and bewe, not onlye the countryes and places where they were bred and brought vp, their age, their stature, their behauiour, the good making & proporcion of their bodyes, the quickenes of their eyes and countenaunce: but alsothe trades and sciences wherein they haue beene most occupyed & vsed, their strength, swiftnes, nimblenes & actiuitye: by which likelyhoodes and tokens it might well appeare which would be most meete for so great a worke. And in the well choosing of these doth consist the chiefest hope, not onlye for the strength of the armye, but also for acchieuing the victorye. The. 1. booke

Secondly he setteth forth the trayninge vppe of the yonge souldiours well chosen, with dailye vse and exercise: wherevpon it came to passe ỹ an armye in latine was called Exercitus, to the intent it should be euer in labour & practise, and neuer forget to what ende it was so named. In armye in latine called Exercitus ab Exercitio.

Wherein he first sheweth that they must learne and exercise to march in battell raye, to runne, to leape, to swimme, to strike hansomely, cunninglye to vse al kinde of weapons, to shoote, to cast dartes, to cast stones with slinges, or with hande, to mount on horses, to carrye weight, to fortefye the Campe, to caste and scoure trenches, with other kindes of exercises to long here at this time to be recyted.

In the seconde booke he deuideth the feates of warre into certaine kindes, he describeth the partes of an army, which amonge diuers nations were diuerslye named: but the Romaines called them Legions, Ab eligendo, which word he sayth requyreth their fayth and diligence, by whom ỹ souldiours are to be allowed or refused. He sheweth how many cohortes or bandes of souldiours should be in one Legion, how manye or how fewe Legions the Romaines vsed to leade in one army, he setteth forth the names and degrees of the principall men of ỹ host, he declareth the offices of all the Captaynes and gouernours, ỹ lieuetenaunt, the Martiall, the Centurions, peticaptaines, and all other rulers and officers of the whole armye: he describeth the troupes of ỹ horsemen, and as well thenames, as the offices of the Captaines of euerye bande. Manye other thinges also hee toucheth concerninge the Standerds, banners, enslgnes and flagges, yea and the offices of the Trumpetters, by whose sound it is knowē when ỹ souldiours should set forward to anye worke, when they should fighte or staye, when they should followe the chase, or when they should retyre. Thus with manye other notable thinges to be knowen, and partlye with a vehement ex- The. 2. booke

Legio ab eligendo.

hortation to the diligent exercise of ȳ feates of warre, and partly with a briefe rehersal of certaine tooles and engines, used to be caryed with the armye, he concludeth the seconde booke.

The 3. booke In the thirde hee teacheth howe an armye well appointed and enstructed, as is aforesayd, maye nowe be brought to the fielde and ioyne wyth the aduersaryes. But first hee sheeweth howe the health of the hoast should be preserued: what regarde should be had that graine forage and victuailes should be prouided for and kepte: howe the chiefe Captaines should keepe the souldiours in quiet from sedition and vprore: howe warelye and circumspectlye the armye shoulde be ledde, when at any time it remoueth: howe to passe ryuers, and other daungerous places. How greate consideration oughte to be whether they should fight in skirmishe, or set battel: ȳ chiefe Captaynes great carefulnesse before they ioyne battell, in tryinge the courage of his souldiours, in choosinge ameete place for to fighte in, in settinge them in suche order and araye that they be not easelye ouercome. Which thinges for that they cannot be comprehended in fewe wordes, and the Author discourseth of them at large in many Chapters, I referre the Readers to the selfe same Author, who doth so perfectlye set forth such notable deuises and pollicyes, such skilfulnes and knowledge, such prouidence & warenes, as ought to be in such a man, to whom the worthye honours of so greate power and authoritie are ascribed, that vnto his fidelitye, vertue, and manhoode (that I maye here vse the very wordes of Vegetius) the defence of Cittyes, the lyues of the souldiours, the renowne of the common wealth, may safely be committed. After these, he declareth certaine generall rules of warre, and so endeth his third booke.

The 4. booke In the fourth booke he treateth of the besseginge and defendinge of Cittyes: wherein he first speaketh of the buildinge and fortefyinge of the same: and what forecight should be if a Cittye be besieged, that it suffer not famyne: what pollicy may be vsed, if water, salt, strings, or cordes and suche like shoulde fayle in the Cittye. He reherseth also a nomber of engines and much ordinaunce vsed in those dayes in the besseginge of Cittyes: the description whereof who so list to know more at large, let him reade the tenth and eleuenth booke of Robertus Valturius. Also he geueth certaine preceptes and rules of warres vppon the sea: in which he sheweth what kinde of shippes were most necessarye and commodious for that purpose: and how dilligentlye the same were made: in what monethes and seasons of the yeare timber should be felled: he nameth and nombreth the windes: he sheweth when it is good to sayle, & when not: he speaketh of certayne signes and tokens, whereby mariners maye foreknowe fayre weather or foule, calme or

tempest

tempeſt: then deſcribing certaine armour and ordinaunce for ſhippes, he briefelye teacheth howe to lye in waite, and alſo howe to ioyne open battell on the ſea: and thus endeth he his fourth and laſt booke of the inſtitutions of warre. In all whiche worke briefelye and plainlye is contained, not onlye (as I ſaide before) a methode or compendious waye, but alſo a perfect knowledge and arte of warre: to the which if painefull dilligence and experience be ioyned, what let ſhoulde be, but that no leſſe worthines and excellencye appeare in warriours of theſe our dayes, then hath beene founde in the moſt famous Captaynes before our time: to the which not experience alone brought them, but diligente learninge and ſtudyinge of the feates of warre, written and ſet forth both by hiſtoricall writers & Poets, and by ſuch alſo as this our preſent Author Vegetius is. Innumerable examples mighte be here recyted, but paſſing ouer all the reſidue for ſhortnes of time, two of the chiefeſt may ſuffice. Alexander the great, who in ſhort ſpace ſubdued the greateſt part of the world, had alwayes the Poet Homer layd vnder his beddes heade, in whom he might behoulde the office as well of excellent Princes, as of moſt worthye Captaynes.

Experience ioyned with knowledge, bringeth great thinges to paſſe.

Alexander the great.

Iulius Cæſar, howe greatlye he was geeuen to this kinde of ſtudye, it doth moſt euidentlye appeare by ſuch notable bookes as he hath written and intitled Commentaryes. And ſurelye in mine opinion, it ſeemeth a farre better and ſhorter waye to attaine to the name of a worthye and perfecte Captaine to ioyne experience vnto knowledge, then to get knowledge by experience. For mans life being ſhort and ſubiect to manye caſualtyes, oftentimees is cutte of before it can come to anye ſuch perfection as is requyred in an excellent man of warre: whereas ſmall experience with diligente readinge and perfecte learninge of feates of ware, maye frame and make manye politicke Captaynes in a ſhorter ſpace. I do not meane that knowledge withoute experience, can do anye great thinge at all: but beinge ioyned both together, doubtles they maye be as able to bringe to paſſe as great and marueilous thinges in valiant men in theſe our dayes, as they haue beene in manye noble men before our time, as namely in thoſe moſt worthy and famous conquerours, whom partly for breuityes ſake, partly for honours ſake I mentioned before: whereof Alexander the greate (as Iuſtine and others do witnes) neuer foughte with anye ennemyes, whom he did not vanquiſh and ouercome: and howe Iulius Cæſar did preuaile, his hiſtoryes do declare, who being much inferiour in nomber to his ennemyes, was ſo ſkilfull and experte in the ordering of his battelles, that as it were before throughlye aſſured, he woulde foretell to his men, euen in this bande (naminge and paintinge oute the ſame) ſhall conſiſt the victory: which ſhould afterward euen ſo come to paſſe

C. Iulius Cæſar.

Better to ioyne experience to knowledge, then to gette knowledge by experience.

The notable ſkilfulnes of Julius Cæſar.

as

as you maye reade in the greatest and last conflicte betweene him and Pompeie, besydes other places in the thirde booke of the Romayne ciuill warres

Presuppostinge that I haue sayde sufficientlye for the exhortinge of thee gentle Reader to the ouerlookinge of this booke: as well for the necessarye matter therein contayned, as for causes by occasion chaunginge from time to time, whereby the same matter maye neede to be practsed: with hope of thy good pardon for anye my faultes whatsoeuer, as thou mayest seeme rather to encourage then discourage mee: I committe thee to Almightye GOD, and to the readinge of my Author Flauius Vegetius, rudelye, yet profitably hereafter speakinge in Englishe.

Farewell.

Christopheri Carlili
Saphphica.

ARte qui quauis patriam tuetur,
In domo diuûm locus est paratus:
Id facit Sadler: patet ergo cœli
Porta supremi.

Nonne constanter patriam tuetur:
Qui modos tradit quibus amouentur
Hostium fraudes, furiæ rebelles,
Insidiæq;?

Scire vis turmas equitum locare?
Copias crebras peditum? legantur
Quæ dat interpres Vegetj latini
Ore Britanno.

Scire vis quid sit manus, atq; turma?
Quid cohors, alæ, legio, balista?
Quidq; sit quincunx, aries, duelli
Cornua bina?

Scire vis qui sit locus atq; tempus:
Machinæ martis: celeres biremes:
Classium portus: sonitus tubarum
Palladis arma:

Bellicum quid sit: lituus sonorus:
Tela bellonæ: docet id polita
Arte Sadlerus: facit, vt reguſtet
Angla inuentus.

Anglicæ pubi dedit hæc legenda
Cura Sadleri: monumenta sunto
Digna, quæ cedro simul ac cupresso
Perpetuentur.

Thomas Dranta.

BElla virosq; canit Sadlerus tempora belli,
Castra acies fossas, spicula, tela, duces.
Perbellè facit is, bellum qui rite repandit:
Aurea per bellum pax solet esse dux.
Edocuit bellum, bellum Deus ipse probauit:
Si bellum, belli tunc probat illi librum.
Sic Sadlere tibi multum pax bellaq; debent:
Sic Deus & librum, te probat atq; tuum.

Thomas Drante.

To wryte of peace is good, to wryte of warre is gaye
and good, for God himselfe taught Dauids hands to fraye:
Warre faughtē right is good, such warre doth Sadler tell:
the fact he doth is right, the worke he wrytes is well.

In I. Sadlerum eiusque versionem.

Gulielmus Iacobus.

DVra quod vt nuper, nunc non sint scripta Vegeti,
Dic cuius studio, cuius & ingenio:
Die mihi quis castris Anglus, quis tantus in armis:
Sic quis ad arma vocet, sic sua castra locet:
Dic quis tam doctus sic explicat omnia doctè,
Sic aptè loquitur, sic sua bella parat:
Deniq; dic quis sit sapienter tempore in isto
Adfert qui patriæ commoda tanta suæ:
{ Vnus is è multis, vel dicam, ex omnibus vnus, }
Qui facit vt durum hoc non videatur opus:
Qui dedit effigiem belli quasi clarus in armis,
Bella parans isto commodiora modo:
Qui docte scripsit, posuit nec quid nisi rectè:
Qui prudēs isto tempore bella parat:
Est is Sadlerus qui sic sentitq; sapitq;:
Hæc fiunt studio cuius & ingenio.

In Vegetium quem I. S. Anglicè loquentem fecit, Gulielmi Charci carmen.

CAstra quid & campi possint, virtusq; dolusq;,
Scripsit Vegetius: nobile Martis opus.
Quas habeant artes terrestria prælia, scripsit,
Et quæ Neptuni bella geruntur aquis.
Quas teneant equites classes, peditesq; phalanges
Et qui cui turmæ fortior ordo siet:
Vt celeres alæ possint volitare per agros,
vt possis cuneos hostibus incutere:
Vt formas formæ superent, vtq; hostibus hostes
Fortius occurrant, agminaq; agminibus:
Hæc eadem Martis, magna ornamenta, potentis:
Aptum opus & gratum, terra Britanna tibi:
Sadlerus sermone dedit cultuq; Britanno.
Vtere, nam rebus maximus vsus inest.

William Bulleyne

THe fruites of fearefull warre, eche wight maye plainly knowe:
It is the rodde from God aboue, to vs that dwell belowe.
A blessing rich it is in deede, where God doth wisme the fielde:
Or els a triple plague (God wotte) to vse the sword or shielde.
By warre most lands & Cittyes great were wonne and still do stand:
By warre Nauyes and gallyes swift haue gayned many a lande.
Euen so great fortes and walled townes by warres are ouerthrowne:
Sometime (agayne) the Nauyes great in stormes are ouerblowne.
And captiues great in bondage ledde, which neuer backe returnes
And bloudye corpes in streete lye dead: the fyer consumes & burnes.
The buildinges fayre, and antiques olde: in dedde the child is slaine:
The Temples huge are cast a downe: nothinge doth els remayne,

But

William Bulleyne.

But hunger plague, & bloudy woundes: ỹ mother her child doth eate:
Dunge is daintye to hungrye slaues, when they do dye for meate.
Why then feare God, loue wel your Prince, esteeme ỹ man of warre:
For they do garde eche common wealth, & chase thine ennemye farre.
Geue peace good God in these our dayes, for thou dost for vs fight
Preserue the Church, defende ỹ Queene, and people daye and nyghte.
And Sadler then for his reward due prayses let him haue:
Take in good part his diligence, els nothing doth he craue,

The Prince to chiefe rule,
The Preacher to the worde:
The Lawyer to the skroule,
The Souldiour to the sword.
The Marchant to the purse,
The thrasher to the flayle,
The sheapehearde to the flocke:
The mariner to the sayle.

John Higgins.

AS warre hath wonne eternall fame, & found a lasting prayse,
As war hath kingdomes great preserude, & kept thē frō decayse
So sure the Feates of warre do passe, which if thou canst attayne:
Shall cause the winne the field, and liue, to see thy ennmyes slaine.
This Sadler by translating of, Vegetius shewes so well:
That thou by practise mayest attaine, and therein soone excell.
Foure bookes there are, the first doth teache, to muster and to chuse;
And after choyse what exercise, to practyse learne and vse.
The next declares how wyghtye warre, deuyded is in partes,
Howe legions, wings, & armyes stands, and teacheth eche their artes.
The thirde of good prouision shewes, & how the armyes knit:
Which way to skirmishe fight & frame, your force wyth wyles of wit.
The last doth teache howe Cityes maye, prepare for their defence:
And telles what engines erst were vsde to driue the ennemys thence,
Likewyse what shippes on sourginge seas, in time of warre do well:
By Sea what wyles & weapons cause, the souldiour to excell.
In such a sort are these so pende, by Sadlers painfull skill:
Vegetius teacheth Englishmen the Feates of warre at will,
And learnes himselfe a language straunge, he erst ne will before,
Thus he by Sadler taught, of warre doth teache and learneth more.

Sadleri carmen ad præcedentia.

CVius hæ laudes niſi Brudenelli?
Militis clari, atq; equitis Britanni?
Cuiq;, ſi quid ſit, meritò putetur
Maius honore?

Quicquid huius ſit ſtudij, laboris:
Huius hortatu patriæ tributum:
Vna cauſa, & fons fuit iſte primus,
Solus & author.

Si tamen verum volumus fateri:
Nemo, prꝛterquàm Deus ipſe ſolus
Dignus eſt, ſic cui tribuenda laus ſit,
Omnis honorq;.

The ſame.

To whom are all theſe prꝛayſes due, and moꝛe then theſe, by right?
but to ſyꝛ Edmonde Brudenell that woꝛthye Engliſhe knighte?
Whatſoeuer frute may by this woꝛke redounde vnto this lande,
at his requeſt the ſame was done, and taken firſt in hande.
But if the truth we will confeſſe: no man, but God in thꝛone,
is meete, to whom al laude and prꝛayſe ought to be geuen, alone.

A COMPENDIOVS treatise of the Institutiõs of warre, written by Flauius Vegetius, a famous Author, vnto Valentinianus Augustus, gathered oute of the Commentaryes of Cato, Celsus, Traianus, Hadrianus, and Frontinus.

The Prologue of the first Booke.

THe maner hath beene of olde time to write the studyes of good sciences, & the same orderlye brought into bookes, to dedicate vnto Princes. Because neyther anye thinge is well begonne, excepte the chiefe Prince after God shal like well thereof: neither doth it become any man to know eyther better thinges, or mo things then ỹ Prince, whose knowledge may be profitable to all his subiectes. Which knowledge that Octauius Augustus and other good Princes after him, willingly haue had and practised, it is declared by manifolde examples. By that meanes through the testimony of rulers, hath eloquence encreased, and yet aduenture beene by no meanes blamed. Beinge compelled by this imitation, when I consider that your clemencye, more then others, maye pardon the bolde enterprises of learning: I haue not greatly perceyued my selfe to be so much inferiour to the olde writers, (althoughe in this worke, neyther elegancye of wordes, nor sharpenes of witte is necessarye, but dilligent and faythfull labour) that those thinges whiche beinge scattered and darckelye written by diuers Historiographers, & such as teache the schole of armes, hidde and vnknowen, maye of nece be set forth openlye for the commodity of the Romaynes. Therefore as touchinge the choysing and trayning of yong souldiours, I do meane by certayne degrees and titles to represente the aunciente maner: not that these thinges may seeme vnknowen to you, most puisante Emperour, but to proue that the first beginners of the Romayne Empyre, haue heretofore obserued, what thinges you at this time for the safetye of the cõmon wealth do willingly practise: & to shew you howe to finde oute of this little booke for all most waighty and necessarye affayres, whatsoeuer may appeare at all times most requisite.

That the

That the Romaines, through the onely exercise of armes haue ouercome all Nations.

The firste Chapiter.

IN any maner of warre, not so much in the great nũber of men & manhood without skyll, as in knowledge and practise, doth consiste the victory. For why we see that by no other meanes the Romaines haue subdued ỹ whole worlde vnto them, but by exercise of armes, the exacte knowledge of encamping, and vse of warre. Howe coulde els the Romaines being but a fewe, haue preuayled against the Frenchemen being so many in nombre? How durste els the sayd Romains being of so small stature, haue aduentured against the Germaines being so highe and tall? It is very euident that the Spaniardes not onely in multitude, but also in strengthe of body, haue excelled our men. With the Aphricans in subtiltie and ryches, we were neuer comparable. No man at any tyme hath doubted, but in sciences & wysedome, the Grekes haue farre passed vs. But alwayes we founde it profitable to those an actiue and wyse souldier, to teache hym, if I may so terme it, the lawe of armes, to confirme his knowledge by dayly exercise, to make him vnderstande by trayning hym at home, suche thynges as may befall in battayle abroade: and sharpely to take punyshement of the dull and slouthfull souldiour. For the knowledge of warre maketh men more bolde to fight. No man feareth at any time to doe that whiche hee perswadeth him selfe he hath throughly learned. Surely in battayle a small nombre well practised, soner getteth the victory, then a rude and vnskilfull multitude, alwayes in daunger of slaying.

¶ Out of what countreis a younge souldiour ſhould be choſen. Chapiter. ij.

THe order of thinges for our purpoſe doth require, that in the firſt parte we intreate, out of what prouinces or countries younge ſouldiours ſhould be choſen. For it is moſte ſure and euident, that in all places bothe cowardes and hardie men be bredde. But yet, becauſe one nation doth excelle an other in warre, and the clymate of the heauē doth very muche auayle, not onely to ſtrengthen the body, but alſo the minde, for in this place what is of the beſt learned men moſte approued & allowed, I meane not to pretermit. They ſay that all nations whiche be nigh to the Sunne, parched & dried with ouer muche heate, haue more witte in deede, but yet leſſe bloud within thē. And for that cauſe, they dare not manfully & boldly ſtande to it when they fight, wel knowing how litle bloud they haue, & feare much therfore wounding. Contrariwyſe, the people of the North, whom the Sunne burneth not ſo nere, being more raſhe and vnaduiſed, yet a great deale better blouded, are moſte ready of all, & deſirous of warre. Out of the more tēperate coſtes then ſhould ſouldiours be choſen, whiche both may haue bloud enough, and ſo not force neither for hurting nor killing; & haue wiſedome alſo ſufficiēt, wherby wiſely to kepe a moderate meane & aduiſedly by circumſpect councel, to preuaile in their fighting.

¶ Whether out of the countrey, or out of the citie, yong ſouldiours may be taken moſte conueniently. Chapiter. iij.

IT foloweth that we knowe, whether out of the countrey or out of the citie, a young ſouldiour maye be choſen more cōuenient. As concerning which part none, I thinke euer doubted, but the common rude ſorte alwayes was fitteſt for the warres: whiche is brought vp abroade, & vſeth to take paine, that can abide ſunne burning, that paſſeth not for the ſhade, that neuer knewe what bathes ment, ignorant of delicatenes, ſimple of minde, content with a litle, hardened in euery parte to abide & beare labour. Howbeit, ſometime neceſſitie

ceſſitie ſo conſtraineth, that euen out of cities they be forced to the warre. Suche therefore when they are ones made ſworne ſouldiours, let them learne to toyle & trauel, to rūne to & fro, to cary burdēs, to abide þ ſunne & duſt. Let thē fare hardly & homely, let them ſometimes be occupied abroade, ſometime in their tētes: then at the length let thē be taught to vſe their armour. And if the armie ſhall ſoiourne long abroade, they muſt be kept hard to their taſke, & holden farre from all allurementes of the citie, that by this meanes both the ſtrēgthe of their bodies and mindes may encreaſe. Neither is it to bee denied after the citie was buylded, that the Romaines went alwayes out of the ſame vnto warre. But then were they not weakened with pleaſures of the bodie & deliciouſnes. The ſweate which was gotten in running and other exerciſe of Campus Martius, the youthe waſhte it away with ſwimming in the ryuer Tyber. The warriour & huſbandman, were all one, onely they differed in kynde of armoure. Whiche thing is altogether ſo true, that it is moſte true, howe that vnto Quintius Cincinnatus, as he was at plough, the greateſt authoritie amongeſt the Romaines in tyme of warre, the office Dictatura, was offered and geuen. Out of the countrey therfore the force of the armie ſeemeth chiefly to be ſupplied. For it comes to paſſe, I can not tell howe, that hee leſſe feareth death whiche hath taſted leaſt pleaſure and deliciouſues in his lyfe.

¶ Of what age thoſe young ſouldiours ſhould be, whiche ſhould be thought allowable. Chapiter. iiij.

NOwe let vs ſearche of what age it is conuenient that wee chooſe our ſouldiours. Verely if wee wyll obſerue old cuſtome, ſo ſoone as they growe any thing towarde mans ſtate, about fourtene and ſixtene yeares, euer ye man wyll graunte, they ſhould appeare at the muſter, for not only more ſpedely, but alſo more perfectly all thinges are learned whiche we learne in our younge tyme. Beſydes, agilitie and actiuitie, fitte for warre, as leaping & running, muſt be tried and put in vre before the bodie be infeebled by age: for it is readines gotten by former practice that maketh a good

ſouldiour. The younger ſorte muſt be choſen as ſaith Saluſt, for no ſooner were younge men able to awaye with warre, as they learned vſually and painfully in the campe, the practiſe of the ſame. And it is better that a yonge man exerciſed ſhould alledge that his age to fight is not yet come, then that he ſhould truely lamente that the ſame were already paſte. Let him alſo haue ſpace and tyme to learne euery poincte thereof. For whether you will make a good horſe mā, a good footeman, a good archer, or teache a man at armes all his numbers, places, and geſtures: that he forſake not his ſtanding, that he breake not araye: to caſte his darte with good ayme and ſtrength, counningly to entrenche and diuide his ſtakes, to welde his terget well, to awarde onerthwarte ſtrokes, warely to auoyde blowes, and boldely to ſtryke his enemie: It ſemeth no ſmall nor lyghte poinct of warre. A ſouldiour in this ſorte inſtructed, ſhal not be afrayd but take pleaſure to fight with what ſo euer enemy in the fielde.

¶ Of what ſtature yonge ſouldiours ſhould be choſen. Chapter. v.

MArius Conſull of Rome, I knowe, alwayes choſe younge ſouldiours of tall ſtature, ſo that he woulde allowe none for horſemen in the wynges and fronte of his battayle, but ſuche as were ſixe foote byghe, or fiue & tenne inches at the leaſt. But then was there more plenty of people, & more that followed the warre. For as yet had not ciuile diſſention ſpent awaye the flouriſhing youth of the citie. Therefore if nede ſo require, it is mete to haue regarde more of ſtrengthe then of ſtature, and that we are not herein deceiued, we haue Homere for wytnes, who declareth that Tideus was but ſmall of perſone, but yet of good courage and ſtomake.

¶ To knowe by the countenaunce and making of the body whiche ſouldiours are like to proue good. Chapter. vj.

He that

HE that wyll goe about to muſter men, muſt be verye carefull that by the continuance, by the eyes, by the ſure compacting and ioyning of the lymmes, he choſe them whiche may be able to perfourme the parte and dutie of ſouldiours. For not only in men, but alſo in horſes and in dogges, the chiefeſt power is ſignified by many tokens, as the beſt learned men haue declared in their wrytinges, and as alſo the Poete Virgill ſpeaking of Bees, thus noteth to be obſerued.

Of bees two ſortes there are, but yet the better ſure is hee,
With ſemely coate that ſemeth ſo of golden hewe to bee:
The other groſſe and full of slouth, deſerues no prayſe we ſee.

Let the young man therefore that ſhalbe a ſouldiour, not looke drowſely, let hym be ſtraighte necked, broade breſted, let his ſhoulders be well fleſhte, let him haue ſtrōg fyngers, longe armes, a gaunte belly, ſlender legges, the calfe and feete not to full of fleſhe, but knitte faſte with harde and ſtronge ſynowes. Fynding theſe tokens in a ſouldiour, you neade not greatly complayne for wante of tall ſtature. For more requiſite it is that ſouldiours be ſtronge and valiant, then huge and great.

¶ What ſciences younge ſouldiours ſhould be ſkilful in, whiche ſhould be either choſen or refuſed. Chapiter. vij.

IT followeth diligētly to be knowen what ſciences young ſouldiours ſhould haue learned, that are either to be admitted or vtterly refuſed. I ſuppoſe that fiſhers, fowlers, Paſterours, linnen weauers, and whoſoeuer that dealeth with any thing that betokeneth a womaniſhe nicenes, ſhould be vtterly baniſhed the campe. Smythes, Carpēters, Butchers, Hunters of the harte and wylde boares, maye moſte conueniently be called to warre. And herein conſiſteth the ſafetie of the whole common wealthe, that wee chooſe our ſouldiours, not ſo muche for goodly bodie as for manly courage of minde. The ſtrengthe of the realme, and the name

of the Romaynes lieth in the firste examining of thy the souldiours that are chosen. And let none thinke this a small office, and euerywhere to be committed to euery one, whiche of dyuers vertues that Sertorius had, was thought of the olde Romaynes to be chiefest, and moste commendable for youth, vnto whome the defence of countreis, and fortune of warre is to be committed, ought to come of a good stocke if it may be, and also be wel conditioned. Because honestie maketh a mete and able souldiour: for whylest they dare not flie for shame, they thereby get the victorie. To what vse should we trayne and bringe vp a cowarde, to let hym remayne in the campe and spende wages vpon hym? Neuer Sped that armie well in battayle, wherof, hee that tooke the muster, was any thing negligent in allowyng the souldiours. And for as muche as vse teacheth, and we finde by experience, hereof proceade euery where so many discomfitures and damage by the enemy: whyles to long peace causeth vs make so negligent and careleſſe choise of our souldiours, whyles the honest are suffered to followe the citezins trade, whyles yong souldiour loth to leaue their masters, dissemble ỹ matter that they be fauoured and borne withall, whyles suche fellowes are made out as their maisters are wearye of, and therefore wyllingly forgoe them. Circumspect men for this cause with as circumspecte diligence muste of this younger sorte chose both meete and able persones.

¶ What tyme younge souldiours should be registred and bylled. Chapiter. viij.

FOr all this, notwithstanding, vpon these foresayde tokens, a younge souldiour maye not by and by be bylled or preste, but wee must firste see by exercising hym what he can do, that wee may knowe certainly whether hee be a meete fellowe for so great a purpose. It is necessary that hee bee ready and stronge, wee must vnderstande whether hee can perfectlye learne the knowledge and feates of armes, and

mes, and whether he hath a good souldiours stomake or no. For a great sort although by syght they seame allowcable, yet when they come to be tried, they are vntollerable. The lesse worthy therefore must be lefte, and the worthier succede them, and be placed in their roume. In euey conflicte the multitude auayleth nothing so muche as manhode. Let the younge souldiours therefore after they are hylled, by continuall exercise learne the feates of armes. But a presumption of long securitie, hath brought these thinges out of vse. Whome shall a man finde that is able to teache that whiche hee hym selfe hath not before learned? out of histories then or other authours, wee must learne againe that olde lesson. Yea, but they seame to haue written the noble actes and successe onely of warres, leauing these which wee nowe doubt of, as thinges throughly and sufficiently knowen. The Lacedemonians, Atheniens, and other of the Greekes, haue written manye thinges in their bookes, whiche in their tongue are called Taktika, that is to saye, ordinarie matters pertayning to warre. But wee must searche out the martiall pollicie of the people of Rome, who, of smalle boundes haue enlarged their dominion, wel nighe to the regions of the Sunne, & extended the same nere to the worldes ende. This necessitie compelled mee to ouerlooke manye authours, and in this present woorke moste faithfully to sette forth what thinges Cato Censorius hath written of warre: what Cornelius Celsus, and what Frontinus hath briefly comprehended, and what Paternus, the moste diligent mainteiner of the lawe of armes, hath orderly put in writinge. All which thinges are prouided for by Augustus, Traianus, and Adrianus constitutions. I chalenge no manner authoritie to my selfe, but gathering of ỹ forenamed, what things haue bene dispersed, make of them as it were abridgemẽtes called Epitomes.

¶ That younge souldiours be exercised in marching, running, and leaping. Chapiter. ix.

THe first and principall thing that a souldiour must be doing withall, is to learne howe to marche well. For there is nothing in iournying or in battayle more to be obserued, then that all the souldiours do kepe their arraye, whiche can not well be done but by walking ofte apace, and iuste and euen one with another. For a cõfused and disordred armie, standeth ofte in great perill & daunger of the enemy. Therefore in fiue howres, a souldiour must be able to go. xx. myles in sommer. But going a full pace, whiche is swifter, in as many howres he must be able to ridde. xxiiii. miles. A more spedie pace then this, is plaine rũning. The space wher of cannot be iustely limited. The younger sorte must chiefly vse to runne, that with greater violence they may set vppon their enemies, that with more haste when neede is, they may take the more commodious places, or preuent their enemies if they would doe the lyke: that, being made out for scowtes, thei may more therefully go forward, more redily retourne & more eafely ouertake their enemies whē they flie. To leaping also the souldiour must be vsed, for iumping of ditches, for passing depe places, whiche els might hinder them: that when such kinde of difficulties happen, they maye goe ouer without any maner of trouble. Moreouer, in the encounter & ioyning of battayle, when a warriour setteth forward running and leaping, he dasels his enemies eies, and puttes him in marueilous feare, and sodainly striketh him ere he can be ready to resiste, or by any meanes able to defende him selfe. And as touching the exercise of Pompey the great, Saluste in this wyse semeth to make mention. With the lightest in leaping, with the swiftest in running, with the strongest hee stroue in casting the barre. For he could not otherwyse possible haue matched Sertorius, except he had with ofte and sundrie exercises prepared thus him selfe and his souldiours for the battayle.

¶ That younge souldiours shoulde vse to swymme. Chapiter. x.

In sommer

IN lykewyse euery younge ſouldiour with his fellowes, ſhould exercyſe ſwymming. For they ſhall not euer haue bridges ready to paſſe ouer ryuers withall, and when an armie retireth or hath his enemies in chaſe, it is oftentimes conſtrained to ſwymme. Sodaine ſhowers or great ſnowes, make the waters breake out, and by ignorance herein, ſouldiours are ſubiecte to daunger, not onely on the behalfe of the enemie, but alſo for drowning and perishing thē ſelues. Therefore the auncient Romaines, whiche by ſo manye warres and continuall perylles, came to be excellent in all warre matters, chose the fielde Campus Martius, harde by the ryuer Tyber, that in the ſame when they had left exercising their weapons they might wache of cleane all the ſweate and duſte. And when they were weary with running refreshed them ſelues with ſwymming. And it is very neceſſary that not alone the footemen be able to ſwymme, but alſo the horſes them ſelues, yea, and the pages whiche they call Galearcos, that is to ſaye head piece bearers, leaſt the vnſkilfull miſcarie when neceſſitie ſhall approche.

¶ Howe warriers afore tyme cauſed their ſouldiours to vſe for exerciſe wicker tergettes, and cudgels at a ſtake or poſte.

Chapter. xj.

AUncient men as we finde in bookes, trayned vp yong ſouldiours after this manner. They did wrythe and make of twigges hurdlewiſe, rounde tergettes twiſe as heauy as a common terget. And the ſame olde captaines moreouer, gaue the ſouldiours inſteade of ſwordes, great wodden cowgels as heauy agayne as their vſuall and wonted waſters. And thus bothe in the morninge and at after noone, the younge ſouldiours were occupied at an exercyſe called the ſtake. And this vſe of the ſtake, is not onely neceſſarye for ſouldiours, but alſo for maiſters of fence. Neither was any euer thought either in the place of exerciſe, or in the fielde, a tried and valiaunt fellowe, that had not bene very

well ex-

well exercised at ꝑ stake. And for euery souldiour was there a stake dryuen into the grounde, so faste, that it might not stirre: and so depe, that it might bee fyre foote aboue the grounde Against this stake, as against the enemie, the yong souldiour did aduaunce hym selfe with his wicker and his waster, as with a swoorde & a buckeler. Sometyme he stroke alofte as it were at the heade or at the face, sometyme hee made at the syde, sometyme belowe at the legges, sometime hee would geue barke, sometyme steppe in, sometyme euen leape at it, and as earnestly and artificially would hee fighte with the same stake, as if his enemy had bene in place before him. In whiche custome of exercise, this was generallye to bee obserued: that so the younge souldiour shoulde striue to vennewe his ennemie, that he hym selfe in no parte laye open to any blowe.

¶ That younge souldiours should be taught to foyne and thruste, not to cutte and stryke downe right. Chapiter. xij.

FUrthermore, they did learne to pricke, not to cutte. For suche as vsed to strike downe blowes, the Romaynes woulde easely ouercome, and besides laughe at them, when they had done. A downe stroke come it neuer so violētly, seldome killeth: by reason of armoure and bones, that defende the vitall partes. Contrariwyse, a pricke but two inches depe, dispatcheth a man: for running inwarde so, it muste needes pearce the liuely partes. Besides, when a man reacheth vp to strike a downe stroke, hee lieth open, bothe of his arme and his syde: but casting a pricke, a man is euer warded, and the enemy hurte before the pricke bespied. And certaine it is that the Romaines vsed chiefly to fighte after this maner. Deuising for this cause a wycker buckler, and a wooden waster twyse againe so heauy as was customable, that whē the souldiour should take in hande the wonted and lighter weapōs in deede, hee might vnburdened, as it were, fighte both more easely, and also more cherefully.

¶ That

¶ That younge ſouldiours be taught cunningly to handle weapons. Chapter.xiij.

MOreouer, the younge ſouldiour muſt bee perfectly inſtructed, cunningly to handle his weapon: which thing is ſet forth by them that teache the ſame in the fieldes, or other places of exerciſe, the whiche vſe yet in ſome parte is kepte. For it is playne that euen nowe, in all maner of battayles, thoſe that can beſt vſe and hãdle their weapõs, doo fighte a great deale more conuenientlye then others. Wherein the difference may bee perceiued betweene a well practiſed ſouldiour, and him that hath had litle or no exerciſe: when as they that are but meanely this waye inſtructed, farre paſſe and goe beyonde their fellowes in artificiall and cunning fighting. And ſo carefully did our auncestours obſerue this practiſed diſcipline, that thei doubly rewarded the teachers thereof. And as for the ſouldiours whiche had but ſmally profited in this ſame practiſe, in ſteade of wheate wer fayne to take barley, and not one of thẽ had euer any wheatẽ breade geuen him, till in the preſence of the lieutenante, the captaines and ſuche as were chiefe, they had ſhewed by ſure proofes that they had fulfilled all thinges whiche were to be required in a good ſouldiour. For there is nothing more ſure, more happy, nor more commendable then ſuche a common wealth, whiche hath plẽty of experte and learned ſouldiours. It is not gliſtering and gaie apparell, it is not plenty of golde, ſiluer, & precious ſtones, that makes the enemies to ſtoupe or ſeke for fauour, but the onely terrour of weapõs that ſubdueth thẽ. Beſides, in other thinges, as ſaith Cato, if ought be done amiſſe, it may afterward be amended: but a faulte committed in battaile, is altogether paſt cure, whẽ preſent puniſhement followeth by and by vpõ the ouerſight. For either they are forthwith ſlayne whiche haue cowardly or ignorauntly foughte, or els being once put to flight, they dare not euer after deale and encounter againe with thoſe that ouercame them.

¶ That younge ſouldiours ſhould vſe to caſte dartes and other ſhot. Chapiter.xiiij.

Bue

BVt I returne to the same wherewith I begonne. The younge souldiour whiche is exercised with the cudgell at the post, must at ỹ same post caste dartes, as it were at a man, but muche more heauie must those dartes be, then suche as afterwardes he shall by occasion vse in deede. In whiche exercyse, the teacher of this maisterie, must take diligent heede, that euerye one whurle his speare stronglye, that with good leuell he hitte the poste, or els goe very nere it. This exercise maketh a man strong in the armes, and very expert also in whurling and casting.

¶ That younge souldiours should be diligently taught to shoote

Chapter. xv.

ALmoste the thirde or fourthe parte of younge souldiours, suche as were thoughte fittest to make archers, with wooden bowes and arowes for the same, were wont for exercise to shoote also at the stake. For this purpose were there teachers chosen, and cunning fellowes in deede, diligently to take heede that the souldiour helde his bowe well and cunninglye as hee shoulde doe, that hee drewe home and stronglye, that his lefte hande were euer steadie, that he ruled his ryght hande well, that he eyed and mynded the marke altogether at the whiche hee woulde shoote: that whether hee were on horsebacke or on foote, he endeuoured to shoote euer as straight as could bee. Whiche arte both had neede to be learned diligently, and also with daylie vse to be kept cõtinually. And how necessary and profitable good archers are in battell, Cato in his bookes of the knowledge of feates of warre plainely declareth. And Claudius with archers well practised before, ouercame that enemy, with whom til then, he was neuer able to deale. Verely Scipio Aphricanus, when he should ioyne battaile with the Numantines, whiche had sometime subdued the armie of ỹ people of Rome, thought it was not els possible for him to get the victorie, except he placed in euery bande a certaine of chosen archers.

¶ That

¶ The younge souldiours should be vsed to cast stones with a slinge, or with the hande. Chapiter. xvj.

IT is conuenient that the younger sorte bee diligentlye exercised in casting stones, either with handes, or with slinges. They, whiche firste inhabited the Iles called Baleares, are reported to haue firste founde out and deuised the vse of slinging, and so carefully besides to haue exercised the same, that the mothers would suffer their little boyes not to eate any meate, but that whiche they had stricken and kylled with a slinge. And oftentimes rounde stones throwen leuell out of a slinge or slingestaffe, against warriours fenced with helmettes, coyffettes, and coates of plate, are more greuous then anye kynde of arrowes: when as vnto those partes whiche be whole and safe, they do bring a deadlye wounde: and without anoiance of bloud, the enemy is forthwith slaine with the stroke of the stone. Very well knowen it is that in al battayles of the old auncient men, slingers haue bene alowed: and because to carie a slinge is no labour at all, euery souldiour therefore must often vse this exercise. For sometyme it falleth out, that in stony places a skirmishe may be had: that some highe grounde or hille, shal neede defending: that with stones and slinges, the forayne enemies must be dryuen from the assaulte of townes and cities.

¶ Of the exercise of leaden plummettes. Chapiter. xvij.

THe exercise also of leaden plummettes, whiche they call Martiobarbulos, as who saye weapons of Mars the God of battell, should be taught younger souldiours. For not longe agoe, in the Illirian sea, there were of late twoo legions to the numbre of sixe thousande, who, for that they handled these weapons manfullye and skilfully, were called Martiobarbuli. By these for a long space it is certaine that all warres were very valiauntly ended. In so

muche

muche that till Diocleſian and Maximian were Emperours, it was thought good that theſe aforeſayde, for their prowes and manhoode, deſerued worthely to bee named Martiobarbuli, Iouiarii, and Herculiani, as who ſhoulde ſaye, the champions of Mars, Iupiter and Hercules. And they by commaundement were preferred before other legions, and their vſe was to carie fiue of theſe kyndes of plūmettes within their tergettes: whiche if the ſouldiours could handſomely and conueniently caſte, they that were armed with tergettes, ſeemed in a maner to doe as good ſeruice as thoſe they call archers. For they wounde the enemies, and gall their horſes, before they can come not onelye to fighte hande to hande, but alſo to the ſtroke and daunger of the darte.

¶ Howe younge ſouldiours ſhould be exerciſed to vaulte or mounte on horſes. Chapiter.xviij.

NOt onely of the younge ſouldiours, but alſo of ſtipendarie ſouldiours, the vaulting of horſes hath alwayes bene ſtraightly looked to. Whiche vſe verely hathe cōtinued to this our age, although they would haue it ſeeme nowe as though it were not ſo. Horſes of woode in wynter were ſet in a houſe, in ſommer in the open fielde. Upon theſe the younge ſorte were compelled to mounte, at the firſt without armour, vntyll with vſe and exerciſe, they could doe indifferently well, afterwarde in their harneis they were forced to doe the ſame. And ſo great regarde was there hereof, that they learned, not onelye on the right ſyde, but alſo on the lefte, bothe to gette of and on: yea, euen with drawen ſwordes, or long poles in their handes. And here was the commoditie of this continuall exerciſe, that theſe which in peace had plied this practiſe ſo diligently, when neuer ſo ſodein a tumulte was moued in battayle, with the leaſte warnynge that coulde be, could mounte and horſe them ſelues.

¶ That

¶ That younge ſouldiours ſhould vſe to carie weyght and burdens. Chapiter. xix.

YOu ſhould often force the younge ſouldiours, to take vp a three ſcore pounde weight, and to walke with the ſame a wonted ſouldiours ſpace. And needeful is this for theim whome neede ofte compelleth, in many a ſhrewde iourney to cary victuall and armoure. Neyther ſhould this be thought a harde matter, if great neede ſo require: for what can not dayly exerciſe ouercome and make at length very eaſie? That this forſayde kinde of exerciſe, the ſouldiours of foretyme haue vſed, the Poete Virgill wytneſſeth in theſe wordes.

Like as the Romaine fearce in armes like to his countrey guiſe,
Which heauy burden on his backe him ſelfe faſt forwarde hyſe,
And readie on his foe vnwares doth ſet in battell wyſe.

¶ What kynde of armour ſouldiours of olde tyme were wont to vſe. Chapiter. xx.

NOwe is here fitte place to ſhewe with what kynde of armour and weapons the young ſouldiours ſhould be furniſhed & fenced. But in this point the olde cuſtome is vtterly layde aſyde. For although horſemen in armes did good, as we haue of the Gothians, Alanes and Hunnes for example, yet it is playne that the footemen were naked and vnarmed. For after ỳ citie of Rome was builded, vnto worthie Grecians tyme, the armie of footemen was fenced bothe with coarſelettes & headpieces. But whẽ the exerciſe of Cãpus Martius, by negligence & ſlouthfulnes, was geuen ouer and diſcontinued, armour begon to ſeame heauy, & was not worne ofte of ſouldiours. Therefore firſte they made a petition to ỳ Emperours, that they might weare no more coarſelettes, afterward ỳ they might lay away their helmettes. And ſo whẽ they ſhould go to fight againſt ỳ Gothiãs, being naked of their breſtes, & hauing nothing of their heads, they wer oftẽtimes by ỳ multitude of archers vãquiſhed & ouercõ. And notwẽſtanding ſo many miſfortunes which haue hapned

euen

euen to the destructions of so mightie and great cities. No man hath regarde as yet to restore againe to the footemen, either their coarselettes or headpieces: whereby it comes to passe that naked men in the forewarde in daunger euer of wounding, haue greater mynde of flying then they haue of fighting. What can an archer on foote do without harneis: without head piece: which can not holde his bowe and buckeler both together: What shall the standerd bearers doe in battayle, aduauncing the ensigne with their lefte hande, & haue nothing to saue their heades or their brestes: Mary a footeman perchaunce, whiche seldome doth exercise & handle his armour, wyl thinke a brestplate troublesome & heauy. Howebeit, by dayly vse he might well enough away withal, whiche, though it beare heauy thinges, yet neuer complayneth. But they, whiche wyll not take payne to carie aunciēt armoure for their furniture, shall vnfurnyshed beare the blowes awaye, and catche their deathes wounde. And that whiche is a greater griefe, and more shamefull to be spoken of, either become captiue, or betraye their common wealthe by running away. So that eschewing exercise and labour, with ỹ greatest shame that can be, thei are slaine like beastes. Wherefore was an hoste of footemen of our auncestours aforetyme called a wall: but because the legions, besides their tergettes armed with dartes or other shotte, made a goodly glistering shewe also with coarselettes and headpieces: in so muche that the archers were fenced on their lefte armes with splētes or gauntelettes. Footemē that had tergettes besides their coarselettes and head pieces, were also constrayned to harneis their right legges. And thus were they armed whiche fought in the forefront of the battayle, and were called Principes, as who saye the firste and foremoste to perilles. And they, in the seconde order, whiche were called Hastati, that is to saye speare men: and they in the thirde order called Triarii, as who shoulde saye of the reare warde, ready in the thirde place to fighte. But these Triarii were wont to stoupe and keepe thē within the fence of their tergettes, leaste standing vp they might be woūded

with their ennemyes weapons, and that when neede should requyre, hauing rested themselues so well, they might moue vehementlye assaulte and set vppon their ennemyes. And certaine it is that these often haue gotten the victory, whē the spearemen before them called Hastati, haue bene slaine. The auncient warriours had also amonge their footemen, such as were called lighte harnessed men, as Slingers and other with lighte Armoure, which chiefelye were placed in the out sydes or winges, by whom euer the vnset was geuē: and these were of the swyftest and best exercised sort, neither were they very manye, because in retyring if necessitye constrayned, they were succoured and receyued of those in the forefronte, so that the whole battayle stoode still vnbroken. There hath a custome continued almost to this oure tyme, that al souldiours vsed cappes made of skinnes, which souldiours they called Pannonicos, deuised for this purpose, ỹ the head peece should not seeme heauie to any man in fighte, whiche did bere alwayes somewhat on his heade. But the shotte which the armye on foote did vse, were called Pila, fastened with thinne yron to the foreparte of a triangle of nine inches, or a foote longe, which beinge faste in the Targette could not be cute awaye, and beinge skilfullye and valiantlye directed, coulde easelye breake in sonder anye harnesse: of the which kinde there be verye fewe weapons nowe amonge vs. But the forrayne barbarous footemen that haue Shieldes or Tergettes, do chiefelye vse these Dartes, whiche they call Bebras: and of them they haue two or three a peece. Moreouer we must know, that when the matter is tryed with Dartes, the souldiours must set their lefte feete before, for so in throwing theyr dartes when they step in with their right legge, the stroke is much more vehemēt. But when the matter is come to ỹ pinch (as they terme it) and fight as it were at the halfe sword, thē must their rightes feete be formost, that theyr sydes be from theyr ennemyes, least they catche a wound, and that theyr right hand be readye to geeue a blowe when neede is. Therefore it is manifest, that yonge souldiours shoulde be furnished and fenced,

with al cunning and pollicye in fightinge, and with all manner of armour and weapons. For needes must he fight more boldlye, that beinge safe of breast and heade, standes not in feare of woundinge.

¶ Of the fortifyinge of Campes. Chap. xxi.

The souldiours also ought to learne to fortifye their Campes, for there is not a more safe, nor a more necessarye thing in all warre. For whye, if the army be well planted, the souldiours so safe enbulwarked, voyde of all care passe ouer dayes and nights, yea euen thoughe their ennemyes besiege them, they are as safe as though they had a walled Cittye on their backes. But the knowledge hereof, is vtterlye come to nothinge: it is longe agoe, since that when any would pitch theyr Campes, they vsed to entrench them, and sette stakes before them: so that we haue knowen, when the forrayne horsemen as wel by daye as nighte, haue come of a sodayne manye armyes, manye times haue beene maruelously annoyed. But not onlye the foole hardy without ꝑ Campe suffer these things: but whē as by any chaunce in the forebattell they beginne to retyre, they haue not a defence of the Campe, where to saue themselues, & so are killed vp like dogges: and so longe do they dye, as theyr ennemyes please to pursue and chase them.

¶ In what places the Campe shoulde be pitched. Chap. xxij.

The Campe shoulde alwayes be placed, especiallye if the ennemyes be nighe, in a place oute of daunger, whereas maye be plentye of woode, forage & water. And if there they be likelye to lye long, a consideration must be had, for the holsomnes thereof. They muste also take heede that there be no hill nighe, higher then the Campe, whiche if their ennemyes take, they maye greatlye annoye them.

theym. They muste also consider whether the fielde where they woulde encampe, hath beene wonte at anye time to be ouerflowed with sodaine waters: whiche by the like chaũce mighte force the hoast to remoue. Accordinge to the nomber of souldiours, and the carriages, ꝑ Campe must be fortifyed, leaste the greater multitude be crowded into small roume, or least the small nomber be constrayned to stande aloufe one from another, and more scatteringe then is conuenient.

¶ In what forme the Campe shoulde stande. Chapiter. xxiij.

A Campe muste be pitched sometime foure square, sometime three square, sometime halfe rounde, as the qualitye or necessitye of the place shall requyre. But the gate which is called Porta Prætoria, that is to saye, the gate for the Captayne, must be eyther Eastwarde, or els in suche a place that is full before the ennemye, or if they be iourneyinge, it muste stande that waye whether the armye meaneth to goe. Hard within this gate the first hundreds, (that is to saye) the chiefe bandes or companyes of souldiours do pitche theyr Paulions and place their Standers. But the gate which is named Decumana, (that is saye) the greate gate or entrye into the Campe is behinde the Captaynes gate, oute of the which suche souldiours as offende, are ledde to take theyr punishement.

¶ Wyth what thinges a Campe shoulde be fortifyed. Cap. xxiiij.

DIuers wayes a Campe may be fortifyed, & especiall three wayes, for if they be not driuen to a marueylous pinch, they cut turfes out of ꝑ ground, & wt thẽ make

a wall as it were a wall three foote high aboue the grounde, so that wher the turfes were digged, euen iuſt before it their be a ditche. Then in all haſt muſt their be a ditche made nine foote broade and vii. foote deepe. But when ennemyes of great force are at haude: the Campe muſt be fenced rounde about which a verye large ditch, ſo that it be by the line (as they call it) twelfe foote broade, and nine foote deepe. But after they haue ſet hedges aboue the ſame euerye way with earth throwen out of the ditche, and caſt vppon the hedges it will be reared foure foote highe, and thus ſhall it be .xiii. foote deepe, and xii. foote broade, aboue the which, muſt be ſtakes of very tough woode well entered, which the ſouldiours are wont to carry. For the which purpoſe it is good to haue alwayes in readines mattockes or ſpades, rakes, ſcuttels or baſkets and other kinde of implementes.

¶ Howe a campe ſhoulde be fenced when the ennemye is at hande.

Chapter. xxv.

IT is an eaſye thinge to fortifye a Campe, when ennemyes are farre of, but if the ennemyes do come faſte vppon them, then all the horſemen and halfe the footemen, are ſet in battayle raye, to breake the brunte of the ennemy: the reſidue behinde them, when they haue drawen the ditches, do fortifye the campe, and by a cryer is wont to be proclaymed what ỹ firſt companye hath done, what the ſecond, what the thirde, what the fourth, vntill they haue finiſhed all the whole worke. Then come ỹ Captaynes to vewe and meaſure the ditche, and ſuche as haue wrought leaſelye and ſlouthfullye are therefore puniſhed. After this ſorte thenne the ponge ſouldiour muſt be trayned, that when neede ſhall requyre hee maye by and by fortifye the campe without trouble.

Howe

¶ How the ponge ſouldiours maye be trayned, that in the battayle they keepe good ozder and theyr arraye, and ſpace betweene one and an other. Chap. xxvi.

IT is certayne that there is nothinge moze profitable in fight, then that ſouldiours exerciſe daylye themſelues to goe in battayle in good ozder and arraye, neyther runninge on heapes, noz ſcatteringe abzoade moze then is expedient. Foz truly when they are thicke thzonged together, they loſe theyz ſpace they ſhould fight in, and euerye one euerye where letteth another: and when they ſtand thinne that eche maye be ſeene howe he ſtandes, they ſhewe a waye to ẏ ennemye to enter and go thzough the armye.

And thus if the ennemye ſhall cutte and parte the armye, & come to the backes of them that fight, verye feare muſt needes bzing all thinges out of ozder. Therefoze the yong ſouldiours muſt be bzought fozth alwayes to the field, & as they are by name billed, they muſt be called to ẏ battayle: ſo that the battayle be longe right out at the firſt and ſingle: that it be not hollowe, that it be not croked, ẏ the ſouldiours ſtand, of like and conuenient diſtance one from another: then they muſte be charged of a ſodaine to double the fronte: ſo that thoughe they go as faſte as euen they are accuſtomed in the fielde, yet they maye keepe theyz arraye. Thirdlye commaundemente muſte be geeuen, that fozthwith they bzinge themſelues into a quadzangle fozme. That done, they muſt turne them into a triangle (wedgewyſe as they terme it) ẏ is to ſaye, ſmall befoze, thicke and bzoder afterwarde. This good ozderinge of ſouldiours hath done verye much good, & beene profitable in warre. They muſt alſo be warned to conueye themſelues into a rounde fozme, whereby when as violently the ennemye doth bzeake into the battell, the ſouldiours with this pzactiſe may be able to reſiſt them, leaſt all the whole multitude be compelled to runne awaye, and by that meanes greuous perill followe therebppon. If the ponger ſozte can by dailye exerciſe ones perceyue theſe thinges,

they shall a greate deale more easelye saue themselues when they fight.

¶ Howe much space the souldiours must go and come when they be brought forth to marche: And how often they must be exercised in a moneth.

Chapiter. .xxvij.

MOreouer the custome hath bene and remayneth still, and also is in the decrees of worthye Au-ustus, and Adrianus Emperours, it is prouided in the same, ỳ thrise in the moneth, as well horsemen as footemen, should be brought forth to marche, (for so do they terme this kinde of exercise.) The footemen armed & furnished with all maner of weapons, were commaunded to go and come ỳ space of .10 myles from ỳ Campe a marching pace, so that some part of the way they might runne ouer merilye. The horsemen deuided by troupes in armour, likewyse wente euen as longe a iourneye, and as such on horseback are wonte to do for exercise: Sometimes they followed, sometimes gaue backe, and forcinge theyr horses, ranne them out vppon the spurre, not onlye in ỳ plaine fieldes, but also in places steepe downe, and verye highe both horsemen and footemen were caused to go vp and downe, so that hap what happe could to them in their fight, these practised souldiours had very well forelearned.

¶ Of the perswasion to warrefare, and of the manhoode of the Romaynes. Chap. .xxviii.

IN consideration of my faythfull promise and bowe (most puisaũt Emperour, I haue gathered together into this litle booke, these things which I haue chosen oute of all authors, which haue written the science and Arte of warrefare: that in mustering and exercising of yonge souldiours, if anye man woulde be dilligente, hee maye easelye make a stronge armye: but followinge the auncient manhoode that

hath

hath bene in times past. For neyther is all martiall bloud and stomacke quite gone and decayed in men, nor yet lands which brought forth ꝯ Lacedemonias, ꝯ Athenians, Marsians, Samnites, Pelignes, yea & the very Romaines themselues, be barren and vnfruitful. Haue not the people of Epirus, sometime preuayled verye much in armes? Haue not the Macedonians and Thessalians by warre, conqueringe first ꝯ Persians, come as farre as Indie? And it is manifest that the Danes, the people of Media and Thracia, haue alwayes bene such stoute warriours, ꝯ Mars himselfe is fayned to haue bene borne among them. It were to long to recken vp the strength of all countryes, when as they all consist in the Empyre of the Romaynes. But greate securitye and longe peace hath made men partlye delighte in idlenes, and partlye in seruice at home in the common wealth. By such meanes therefore it is well knowen, that the care of warrelye exercyse was at the first negligently handled, afterward dissembled, last of all brought into obliuion & quite forgotten. Neyther let any man marueyle that this hath chaunced in the time late passed: when as after the first warre betweene the Romaynes and the Carthagiens, when 24. yeares were come and gone, peace so weakened the Romaynes throughe idlenes and disuse of Armoure, which before had bene euerye where conquerours, that in the seconde warre of Carthage, they were by no meanes comparable to Hanniball. After so manye Consulles losse: so manye Captaynes slaine: so manye armyes cast away: finding a meanes to learne the vse and exercise of warfare, they came at ꝯ length to be cõquerours agayne. At all times therfore should yong men be chosen and exercised, for cheaper certayne it is to instruct a mans owne soulduours in armes, then to hyre straungers for moneye.

The ſeconde Booke of Flauius Vegetius Renatus of the inſtitutions of warre.

The Prologue.

COntinuall conqueſtes and triumphes, do declare that your Grace doth chiefelye and moſt ſkilfullye keepe in remembraunce the auncient ordinances of the elders, as touchinge the knowledge and feates of armes: For the effect of thinges is alwayes the moſt certaine proofe of any ſcience. But your reſt and quietnes (moſte victorious Emperour) doth requyre the olde and auncient thinges oute of Bookes, wyth a deeper iudgement then anye earthly minde is able to conceyue: when as with newe and freſhe noble actes, it paſſeth antiquitye it ſelfe. Being therfore commaunded to comprehende briefelye in wrytinge theſe thinges, not therein to teache or inſtructe your maieſtye, but onlye to put you in remembraunce thereof: my due obedience and ſolempne promiſe hath oftentimes ſtriuen wyth ſhamefaſtnes. For what greater bouldnes cã there be, then to the Lorde and Prince of the whole worlde, the vanquiſher of all barbarous and forraine Nations, to write of the knowledge and vſe of warre: excepte peraduenture you commaunded that to be done, which you your ſelfe had perfourmed. And againe, it ſeemed a very haynous and dangerous thinge not to obeye the commãdementes of ſo great and mightye an Emperour. Therefore in obeyinge I am become verye bouldе, whiles for feare that in denyinge I ſhoulde appeare more bolde. To the which raſhenes the longe continuance of your accuſtomed and excedinge great clemencye hath encouraged mee. For of late I offered a little Booke of the chuſinge and trayninge vppe of yonge ſouldiours, as one of your owne familye, yet therein ſuſtayned no blame: and therefore feare I not at your commaundemente to aduenture on a worke, when as that which was voluntarilye done, hath paſt vnreprehended.

Fnto howe manye kindes the Arte of vvarre maye be deuided.

The first Chapter.

WHat soeuer belongeth to warre (as the singuler and notable Authour amonge the Latynes doth testifye) cõsisteth of armoure and men: Whatsoeuer partayneth to warre, I saye is deuided into three partes, Horsemen, Footemẽ and Nauyes. Of the horsemen one sort be called winges, because that like vnto winges they defende the battayle on both sydes, which nowe be called Vexillationes, that is to saye, companyes of men of warre all vnder one Standard, a Velo, because they do vse banners or Veiles, termed glistering flagges or ensignes. There is another sort of horsemen which be named, Legionacij, because they be ioyned to the Legion: like to the which are deuised another kinde (& for their harnes they weere of their legges) called Ocreati.

There be likewyse two maner of Nauyes, one which may be called Foystes or Gallyes, and the other of shippes. The horsemen keepe the playnes, the Nauyes the seas and waters, the footemen the hilles, Cittyes the champion grounes and also steepe places. Whereby we see that the footemen are most necessarye for the common wealthe, doinge good seruice euerye where. And whereof a greater nomber maye be maintayned with lesse cost and charge. An host of men is in lattine Exercitus, of the verye thinge it selfe, and of the vse of exercise hath therefore so proper a name geuen vnto it, to the intente it should neuer forget what it was called. The footemen are deuided into two partes, the one sort Legionaries, the other Aides: the Aides were sente from their part takers and confederate Nations. The Romaine vertue doth farre exceade all other in the orderinge of their

Legions

Legions. A legion hath ỹ name Ab eligendo, which worde of it selfe requyreth theyr fayth and dilligence by whom the souldiours are allowed: for reskewe & ayde the lesser nomber, for legionarye souldiours a much greater nomber hath euer customablye bene appointed.

¶ How the legionarye souldiours and those that are sente for ayde do differ. Cap. ij.

THe Macedonians, the Greekes, the Troyans, did vse those battayles which they called Phalanges, about ỹ nomber of .8000. men in a Phalange. The Frenchmen and Spaniardes, and many barbarous Nations, vsed in battell such as they called Gaternas, wherin were 6000. harnessed menne: the Romaynes haue Legions, in the which are .6000 warriours or moe. But what difference maye seeme to be betweene the Legions and Aydes, I will plainly declare. Those which are sent for aydes come from sondrye places, for diuers and sondrye hyre: neyther in trayning, in knowledge, nor in disposition one like another, farre vnlike be theyr fashions, their vse of their Armour cleane of another sort. And needes must they be longe of getting the victorye, which before they come to fighte differ thus after this sort. Finallye whereas expedition requyreth, it is verye expedient that all the souldiours at one onlye warning, should straighte way turne themselues: then howe can they do all a like that, which they are commaunded, when they neuer kept anye companye altogether before: and yet these thinges solemnlye vsed, often exercised, almoste dailye confirmed, profit not a little. The aydes went alwayes wyth ỹ legionarye souldiours, as lighte harnessed men in the forebattayle, rather for an helpe in fightinge then a principall succour. But a Legion where is but one peculiar kinde of souldiours, hauinge in it complete harnessed men (that is to saye) first and foremost Principes, then Hastati, the thirde Triarij or of the rerewarde, the Enslgne bearers: then lighte harnessed men, as casters of Dartes, Archers, men

with,

with Slinges, Crossebowemen: hauinge also in it men at Armes, and such as be annered vnto the Legiõ called legionarye horsemen, and all these in one register: when as with one minde and one consent they sortifye ẏ campe, order their armye, and ioyne battayle together, beinge safe and sure on euerye syde, needing no maner of outward helpe or ayde. What multitude is so manye, that suche an armye shall not conquere? As we are plainlye taught by the great prowesse of the Romaynes, which vsinge Legions alwayes in suche sort aforesayd, ouercame so manye ennemyes as eyther willinglye they would, or all thinges considered, they possible coulde.

¶ The cause why Legions haue beene wasted and deminished. Chap. iij.

The name of Legions remayneth yet till this day, but through negligence of former times, ẏ strength therof is abated: for ẏ ambitiõ preuenting manhoode, hath got awaye his due rewarde: & souldiours nowe a dayes are promoted by fauour, which neuer were promoted but onlye by labour. And againe for this cause, ẏ whẽ we haue payed a certen their wages, & with a pasport (as ẏ custome is) dismist thẽ, we neuer substitute other in their roumes. Besides it cã not be chosen, but some must fall sicke, become weake & so be discharged: some geeue ouer warfare, or dye by one chaunce or other: ẏ except euery yeare, (yea almost euery moneth) as many againe succeede them, & come in theyr place: an armye be it neuer so greate, must needes consume & waste. An other cause there is why legions may be lessened: A souldiour takes muche paine in a Legion, armoure is heauye and burdenous, rewardes come sloulye, punishementes ryfe & sharpe, which thinges the most part to auoyde, if it mighte be, seeke to be sworne and serue for ayde, where bothe they take lesse paynes, & are more sone preferde. Noble Cato ẏ Elder, both valiant in armes, & who that being Cõsull had oftentimes himselfe conducted an armye, he thought yet, he might profit ẏ cõmon wealth a great deale more if he put in

wryting

wrytinge what belonged to warre: for baliante and noble actes continue but one age, but what things are written for the profitte of the common wealth, are remembred throughoute all ages. The like haue manye other done before, but especially Frontinus, writinge to ỹ gracious Prince Traianus, for this endeuour and trauaile was very much commẽded. These mens ordinaunces, these mens instructions, as much as in me lyeth, briefelye and faythfullye I intende to put in wrytinge. For seinge that whether an armye be well ordered or euill, the expenses are as greate of the one as the other: it shalbe profitable not onlye for the time present, but also for euer hereafter, if by your maiestyes good prouision, (moste noble Emperour) stronge and politicke vse of Armour maye be renued and established, and whatsoeuer dissimulation for fauour hath tofore beene practised, the same maye by your meanes be redressed and amended.

¶ What nomber of Legions the auncient Romaynes ledde wyth them to the warres. Chapter. .iiij.

VVe finde in al Authors that euerye Consull, against the greatest nomber of ennemyes, leade neuer mo thẽ two Legions, reckening therewith the aydes ỹ came from theyr frendes & confederates. So well exercised were they, so stoute and baliant, that they thought two Legions sufficient for any warre whatsoeuer. Wherfore according to the rule of the lawe of Armes, and trade of warres, I wil declare the olde maner of ordering of a Legion: which description if it shall seeme somewhat diffuse or homelye, impute not the same to mee, but to the hardnes and difficultye of the matter it selfe. With a diligent and attentiue minde, they must therefore be reade ouer and ouer, that they maye be throughlye vnderstode and perfectlye remembred. For needes must that common wealthe be vnuincible, that hath a gouernour so skilfull in chiualrye, as when hee will, can make both stronge and baliaunt Armyes.

Howe

¶ Howa Legion shoulde be ordered. Chapiter. v.

After much diligence hath bene vsed in chooſing ſuch of the yonger ſorte as ſhalbe of good ſtomacke & courage, and alſo practiſed before for the ſpace of foure monethes or more: then at the commaundement and by the authority of the mightye ſoueraine Prince, a legion is framed & made. For ſouldiours beinge once bilde, pricked and regiſtred they vſe to be ſworne. And hereof therefore comes that Ceremonious taking of an othe in warre, of the which this is the forme. They ſweare by God ꝑ father, by Chriſt the ſonne, and by the holye Ghoſte, and by the Maieſtye of ꝑ Emperour or Prince, which after God, ought to be beloued and worſhipped of all mẽ lyuing. For when as the Emperour or Prince hath receyued the tytle of royall maieſtye, vnto him (as if God were preſently and corporally with vs) our faythfull obedience muſt be performed, and moſte vigilante and diligent ſeruice declared and ſhewed. For whoſoeuer lyueth eyther out of the warres or in the warres, doth then ſerue God, when as hee faythfullye loueth him, whom God hath appointed to rule and raigne ouer him. But to this, do the ſouldiours ſweare, that they wil do all thinges valiantly, which the Emperour or Prince doth commaũde: that they will neuer forſake ꝑ warres, neyther refuſe death for the Romayne common wealth.

¶ Howe manye cohortes or bandes ſhoulde be in one Legion, and howe manye ſouldiours ſhould be in one bande. Cap. vj.

We muſt know that in a Legion there ought to be 10. bandes. But the firſt bande palleth al the reſt, both in nomber of ſouldiours, and alſo in eſtimation, and cõmonlye they be (as it is requiſite) of very good callinge and wel brought vp in learninge: for this bande beares the Eagle, which alwayes is the chiefeſt ſtandard in the Romaine army,

armye, & the ensigne of al the whole Legion. These haue in reuerence and worship theyr Emperours pictures as presēt tokens from God. This first bande contayneth .1105. footemen: heauye armed horsemen 132. And it is named Cohors miliaria, that is to saye, a companye of a thousande and mo souldiours. This bande is the head of all the Legiō: when soeuer they must fight, this band beginnes the battel, and are first set in order in the fronte of the battell. The second bande contayneth .555. footemen, & 66. horsemē of heauye armour. And this band is called Cohors quigentaria, þ is to say, a cōpany of .5. hundred & mo souldiours. The third bande likewise hath .555. footemen, and .66. horsemen. But here they vse to place their strong & more expert mē, because this third bande is in the middes & strengthe of the battell. The fourth bande hath .555. footemen, & 66 horsemen The fift bande hath as manye, but it is requisyte they be valiante and couragious souldiours: because as the first Cohorte is set in the righte wynge, so the fift is set in the lefte winge. These fiue bandes are set in a raye in the first battayle. The sixte bande hath .555. footemen .66. horsemen, and the same must be chosen and picked mē: for why, the sixt band is placed next behinde the standarde, and next the Emperours armes in the seconde front or battell. The seuenth bande hath .555. footemen .66 horsemen. The eyght bande hath .555. footemen 66. horsemen: but couragious men, as it is expedient, because it is the middlemost bande in the seconde battayle. The nynthe hath 555. footemen. 66. horsemen. The tenthe doth containe also .555. footemen 66 horsemen: valiant and expert warriours, because in the seconde battayle it defendeth the lefte winge. These tenne bandes make a full and perfecte Legion, contayninge 6100. footemen, and 726. horsemen. There maye not be in a Legion anye fewer of harneste men: mo there hath beene oftentimes. For when one bande would not serue, by cōmaundement haue bene taken mo other bandes, of a Thousand souldiours in a bande.

¶ Names and degrees, of the chiefe and principall men of the Legion. Chap. vij.

Nowe

NOwe that I haue set forth the auncient ordringe of a Legion, I will declare the names and offices of the principall souldiours: to speake plainlye and properlye, shew by what name euery souldiour was first registred and billed. The chiefe Tribune was appointed by the descretion and iudgement of the Emperour, by his solemne Epistle or letter written to that effecte. The vnder Tribune came vp by his seruice. And he is called Tribunus a tribu: of geuing euery one his right: because he hath authoritye ouer the souldiours, which Romulus first chose out of ẏ Tribes (that is to saye) out of ẏ warres, hundreds, or other such like companyes of the peoples of Rome. Those souldiours Ordinarij, are called such as haue charge in the battaile, & leade the first rankes or rayes. They were called Augustales, which were ioyned to those ordinarye souldiours by the Emperour Augustus. Flauiales in like sort, as it were Secundi Augustales, noble Vespasian added to the Legions. Aquiliferi, are they which carrye the Eagle. Imaginarij or Imaginiferi, whiche carrye the Images or pictures of the Emperours. Optiones ab optando, whē those next going before them were sicke or greeued, these as it were their successours & supplying their places, were wont to take vppon them all their whole charge. Signiferi, are the Standarde bearers now called Draconarii. Tesserarii be they, whiche gaue the watche worde to the souldiours of all the Legion. And this worde Tessera, is the commaundement of ẏ chiefe Captayne, to call the armye eyther to any worke or battell. Campigeni, that is to saye, Antesignani, are therefore so named, because by their endeuour and manhoode, ẏ maner of exercise doth encrease in the fielde. Metatores, are those which go before ẏ armye, to chose them a place to encampe in. Beneficiarij, so called whē the Tribune to benefite preferreth and promoteth. Librarii, that kepe a booke of ẏ souldiours accompts. Tubicines, Cornicines, and Buccinatores, which by blowing a trumpet, brasen horne or Sagbut, cause the souldiours to ioyne battaile. Armaturæ duplares, were souldiours, which had double allowance of victuals. Simplares, which had ordinary allowance. Men-

Mensores, which in the campe measured out by ꝯ foote to ꝯ souldiours, places to pitch their tentes in, or appointed euerye souldiour his lodginge in the Cittyes. Torquati duplares, souldiours with double chaynes: & Torquati simplares, souldiours such as woze a single chayne al of golde, had it, for some reward of manhoode and vertue. Which who so deserued, besides the prayse and commendation sometimes had double allowance of victuals. There were also Candidati duplares, suche as laboured or stoode for double allowance of victuals: and Candidati simplares, suche as laboured for single allowance. These be the principall souldiours which haue anye prerogatiue or priuiledge aboue the other. The rest are named Munifices, because they are cõstrayned to loke to their charge and office.

¶ The names of them which ledde the auncient orders of souldiours. Chap. viij.

THe olde custome hath beene, that the chiefe leader of the Legion, shoulde promote the Centurion or Captayne of the vaunte guarde called Primipilus, whose office was not onlye to take charge of the Eagle or chiefe standard, but also to haue vnder his leading in ꝯ first battell foure Centuries, that is to saye. 400. souldiours. This captayne as the chiefe of al the Legion, did obtayne manye profites and commodityes. Also the chiefe of them which be called Hastati did leade in the second fronte, two Centuries, ꝯ is to saye, 200 men, whom we do nowe call Ducenarium, that is a Captayne of two hundered. But the principall of the first band, had vnder his gouernment one Centurie, and an halfe, that is to saye. 150. men, and the orderinge of all thinges in the Legion whatsoeuer. Likewyse the second called Hastatus, did leade as manye as did the firste, that is to saye, 150. men. The first or chiefe Triarian, did leade an hũdred men: so that these fiue ordinarye souldiours, gouerned tenne Centuries of the first cohort or bande, and vnto whom the auncient fathers did great honor, and also appointed to them

their commoditie: for this ende chiefly, that the other souldiours of all the legion with all kinde of labour and humble seruice should endeuour thẽ selues to attain such rewardes. There were also centurions or vnder captaines, which had the charge of a single centurie or iuste hundred, whiche bee named Centenarii, there were Decani. That conducted ten souldiours, whiche are nowe called the chiefe of one company in one pauilion or tent. The seconde cohorte hath fiue centurions, likewyse the thirde, the fourth, the fifthe, and so to the tenth cohort. And so in al the legion were. 155. centuriõs.

¶ Of the office of him that is called Præfectus legionis, the lieutenauntes deputie. Chapter. ix.

SUche as sometime had beene Consuls, sent the Emperours lieutenantes to warre, vnto whome al the whole armies and those whiche were sent for ayde, as well in peace as in necessarie time of warres were alwaies obediẽt: whose roume it is certaine that right excellent famous men, as maisters of the souldiours doe nowe supplie, which were wonte to haue the gouernement, not onely of twoo legions, but also of a greater nũbre. But the very chiefe and peculiar iudge of the legion was Præfectus, hauing common authoritie of the beste estate or order, & in the absence of the lieutenaunt, as it were his deputie or vicegerent, had the greatest power of all. The tribunes or centurions, and all the other souldiours, were all at his cõmaundement. This same gaue the watche their charge, and when any voiage was to bee made gaue onely commaundement. If a souldiour had committed any faulte, this deputie forthwith by his authoritie, commaunded the marshall to take punishement of him. Hee tooke charge of all the souldiours armoure, also of the horses, apparell and vitaile. Hee might commaunde seuere punishement to be executed, and exercises, not onely of the footemen, but also of the horsemẽ daily to be practised. Him selfe as a diligent and sober ouerseer, trayned vp the legion committed to his charge, alwayes honestly and diligently in all

good seruice & industrie, as one not ignorant that the valiauntnes of the souldiours redounded chiefly to the commendation of the captaine.

¶ Of the office of the chiefe ouerseer of the campe. Chapiter.x.

There was also an ouerseer of the campe, though not of great authoritie, yet occupied in no meane or small affaires: whose office was to see to the encamping of ỹ armie, to all fortification, to ditching and entrenching. The tentes or hales of the souldiours, withal the bagge and baggage were ordred euer as it seemed good to him. The sicke souldiours besides of euery tente, with those that had theim in cure, all expences belonginge to the same, concerne his onely trauell and diligence. Cartes or wagons, shotte or artillery, timber, edge tooles, wherewith to hewe and sawe the same, for opening of ditches, when a bulwarke should be purposed, and for more commodious conueyinge of water, this matter pertayneth properly to him. Hee did moreouer forsee that there wanted not at anye tyme either strawe, or woode, battring rammes, crosse bowes, field pieces, & other kinde of ordinaunce. This officer, after long and great experience of warrefare, was chosen as one moste experte, and cunningest wel to teache and enstructe others in that, which hee him selfe had done with commendation.

¶ Of the office of the maister of the artificers. Chaptet. xj.

Moreouer, there are in a legion Carpenters, and such as make preparation, as Cartwrightes, Smithes, Painters, and other artificers, for building places to winter in. For ỹ speedy making of engines, wooden towers, and other thinges wherewith ỹ enemies cities are annoied, and their owne better defended. And either to make newe, or to repaire the olde shaken armoure, weapons, wagons & other kinden of ordinaunce. They had also forges or shoppes for targets, or buclers, for coates of frēce, for bowes, in which arrowes, dartes, helmets, & al kinde of weapōs were made.

For

For this was his speriall charge, that no necessarye thinge should at any time be missing in the campe: in so muche that thei had also pioners, which after the maner of the Bessians, working vnder the ground, & vndermining the foūdacion of the walles, would sodainly issue out & take their enemies cities. Of all these, the maister of ẏ artificers had the charge, and was the onely ouerseer.

¶ Of the office of the chiefe tribune or Colonel. Chapiter. xij.

A Legion, as it is before said, hath. x. cohortes, but the first cōteined a. 1000. or more souldiours, in ẏ which were such placed as were sent, for their great wealth for birth, for their learning, for comlines, for vertue, & manhode. Ouer this cohort the tribune had the gouernemēt, passing all other in knowledge of armes, in goodly personage, in honest manners and condicions. The other cohortes as it seemed good to the prince, were ruled by other tribunes or gouernours. But so great regarde was there had for the exercising of the souldiours, that not onely the said tribunes or gouernours did commaunde their owne souldiours committed to their charge to exercise them selues, euery daye in their owne presence: but also they thē selues being perfecte in the knowledge of armes, did exhorte and encourage other the rather by their example, often to doe the lyke. The tribunes carefulnes by this industrious traueile was verye muche commended, when as his souldiours went cleane in apparell, when their armoure was sure and bryghte, when they often exercised them selues by vse to become skilfull.

¶ Of the centuries, or hundredes of the footemen, and of their ensignes, or penoncels or banners. Chapter. xiij.

The firste and chiefe standerd of all the legion is the eagle which he that carieth is called Aquilifer. Also there be caried in euery cohort dragōs, and those that carie them, are called Draconarii. But the auncient men of warre, because they knewe that in the fightinge of the bat-

taile it might ſo fall out that array in the armie might very ſoone be broke: for remedie thereof, they deuided the cohorts into centuries, or hundredes, & to euery hundred they appointed a peculiar enſigne, ſo that it was written with letters in that enſigne or flagge, of whiche cohort or bande, & of which centurie in order of the ſame cohorte, euery one was. The whiche the ſouldiours beholdinge and readinge, in neuer ſo great hurly burly, could not farre wander from their companies of their own tent. Moreouer, they cõmaunded the cẽturions, which now are called Centenarii, beinge valiaunt warriours in complet harnis, to gouerne euery centurie or hundred, the creſtes of their helmets being ſet ouerthwart, to thentent they might be more eaſely knowen, and to thend there might be no great diſorder, when as an hundred ſouldiours might followe, not onely their enſigne, but alſo their centurion or captaine by the marke or enſigne in his helmet. Againe the centuries or hundredes were deuided into companies of ten ſouldiours, ſo that ouer ten ſouldiours abiding vnder one pauilion, one was chiefe ruler called Decanus (as who ſay ỹ chief of ten) which is named ỹ head of ỹ company. And ỹ cõpany oftẽ was called Manipulus, for that, ỹ hãd in hãd as it were, they faught alwayes iuſt & iointly together.

¶ Of the trompes of the legionary horſemen, called Turmæ. Chapiter. xiiij.

LIke as among the footemẽ, there was century (that is to ſay, the nũbre of a hũdred mẽ) or Manipulus, which is leſſe ỹ is ỹ nũbre of x. euẽ ſo is turma called amõgſt ỹ horſemẽ. One troupe doth cõteine. 32. horſemen. The captaine ouer theſe is called Decurio, the leadear of. 30. or mo of horſemen. For an. 100. footemen go vnder one centuriõ, & vnder one enſigne: likewiſe vnder one Decuriõ. 32. horſemẽ, vnder one enſigne. Moreouer, like as ỹ centuriõ to be choſẽ, ſhould be a mã of great ſtrẽgth, of tall ſtature, cũninglye and ſtrõgly to tolle his pike, throw his darte, knowing very ſkilfully how to fight w̃ his ſworde, & how to turne & welde his terget, hauing very good knowledge in hãdling his weapon, vigilant,

vigilant, ſober, nimble, and actiue, a doer rather then a talker, whiche can holde in his owne ſouldiours, learne them feates of warre, make them exercise their weapons, ſee they bee well apparailed, & cleane ſhoode, that euery ſouldiours harniſſe be without ruſte, well ſkoured and bright: So the Decurion to bee choſen Captaine of a troupe of horſemen, muſte firſte of all bee a handſome man, a comelye and tall man, able with prayſe and admiration of all men to mounte on his horſe, though he be harniſſed & armed at all pointes, whiche can cunningly handle the ſtaffe, & aduiſedly beſtowe his arrowes, which can enſtructe ỹ ſouldiours of his troupe (that is to ſay) the horſemen committed to his charge, in all maner of thinges whiche appertaine to a horſeman: whiche will ſee that they often make cleane their mayle, furbuſhe their harniſſe, their ſpeares and helmettes. For the gliſtering of armoure breedeth and ſtriketh, a great feare to the enemy. Who wil take him to be a valiaunt ſouldiour, which lettes his armoure ruſte and be euil fauoured by negligẽce. And it is cõuenient that not onely the horſemẽ, but the very horſes alſo them ſelues be at commaundemẽt, and wel broken. The charge therfore as well of the men, as of the horſes, of health no leſſe then exerciſe, concerneth the Decurion or captaine of the horſemen.

¶ After what ſorte the legions ſhould be ſet in order. Chapiter. xv.

NOwe by the example of one legion, wee wyll declare after what maner a whole armie ſhoulde bee ſet in araye, if neceſſarily they muſt ioyne battayle ſpedely. This thing if neede ſhall require, may bee applied to mo legions. The horſemen muſt bee placed in the wynges. The fore fronte of the footemen in the firſt cohorte or bande, muſt beginne the arraye in the right wynge. Hereunto muſt bee ioyned the ſeconde cohorte. Then the thirde cohorte in the middeſt, and therewithall the fourth. The fifth cohorte muſt ſtande for the lefte wynge, but before and behynde the ſtanderdes.

verdes. Those whiche fought in the foze fronte oz firste battayle, were called Principes: that is to saye, chiefe and pzincipall souldiours, as those in complete harnisse whiche had helmettes, coarselettes, legge harnisse, shieldes, swozdes & great daggers, and fiue leadē plommettes in their shieldes, whiche they doe caste at their firste ioyning. Also two kindes of dartes: the one greater, with an yzon heade thze squares, of nyne inches longe, the staffe fiue foote longe and a halfe, whiche they named Pilum, at this tyme called Spiculum. This vsed the souldiours oftentymes to caste, foz that the same directed with cūning, and thzowē with good courage, striketh thzough both footemen with shieldes, and hozsemen with their complete harnis: the other lesse, and was a kinde of darte with an yzon head, thzee cozнered of fiue inches lōg, the staffe of thzee foote and a halfe: whiche they were wonte to call Verriculum, but nowe Verutum. The firste and chiefest souldiours in the firste araye, called Principes, and the seconde called Hastati, were wonte to be furnished with this kynde of weapons. Behinde these were suche as were called Pherentarii, and light armed men, which nowe with harnisse and armoure wee place foz ayde. Next were suche as boze shieldes, with leadē plummettes, swozdes & dartes, as now a dayes almost all our souldiours vse. Then archers with helmettes, bzestplates, & swozdes, arrowes & bowes. Likewyse slingers whiche with slinges, oz staffeslinges, did caste stones. There were also that were called Tragularii, whiche did shoote arrowes with hande bowes, and crosse bowes. The seconde battell was likewyse armed, and those whiche were placed in that bande were called Hastati, that is to saye, pikemen oz spearemen. But in the seconde battayle the sixt bande was set in the right wynge: to the which the seuenth bande was ioyned. The eighte bande kept the middle fronte of the battayle, hauinge the nynthe ioyned to it. The tenthe cohozte in the seconde battayle, did alwayes kepe the lefte wynge.

After

¶ After what maner the Triarians, and also the Centuriens should be armed. Chapiter.xvi.

AFter all these battels, the Triarians, or souldiours of the rereward were placed with shieldes, coarselets, helmettes, beinge harnisshed on the legges, hauinge swordes, great daggers, leaden plūmettes, and two dartes, the whiche did resse kneelinge vppon one knee: that if the firste battaile were ouercome, these might repayre and make vp the battayle againe, and set on the enemies a freshe and recouer the victorie. But all the standerd or banner bearers although they were footement, had on coates of mayle or plate, of the lighter sorte, and helmettes couered with beare skinnes, to terrifie and make aferde the enemies. The Centurions also had coarselettes, brigantines, shieldes and helmettes of steele, but with crestes ouerthwarte, and couered with siluer, that they might bee the better knowen of their souldiours.

¶ Howe that the battayle being ioyned, the complet harnisshed men stoode as a wall. Chapiter.xvij.

THis thing also must bee knowen and diligently obserued, that in open warre the firste and seconde battaile should stande sure and vnmoueable. The souldiours also of the rereward, should abyde and resse. The light armed souldiours, and terget men, archers, slyngers, that is to saye, suche as were armed with light harnisse should goe before the armie, and prouoke the enemies. And if they could put the enemies to flighte, they shoulde pursue them, but if they were ouermatched and ouerlayde with the power and multitude of their enemies, they muste retire to their owne companie, and stande behinde them. But the complet armed men muste receiue the brunte of the battayle, and stande as wee saye, lyke a brasen wall, and they must not onely casse dartes, but also with swordes fighte neerer hande.

And if they put the enemies to flight, these complete harnissed men must not pursue them, least they should disorder the bande, and breake the battelraye, and so the enemies returning and sodainly comming vpon them, so disordered & scattered abroade, might easely ouercome them. But the lyght armed men, with the slingars, archers and horsemen, muste pursue the enemies in the chase. By this good order and diligent prouision, and circumspection, this legion shall either easely vanquishe their enemies, or els shalbe out of daunger if they chaunce to be ouercome: because it is necessarely required in this companie, not, without great cause, either to geue backe or flie them selues, or pursue their enemies retulyng.

¶ The names of souldiours, and the orders and degrees should be wrytten in the shieldes.

Chapiter.xviij.

But, least souldiours sometimes in the hurly burly of a battayle, should departe from their owne companie: they did painte in diuers bādes, diuers signes or markes in the shieldes, whiche they called Digmata, that is to saye, signes, markes, or tokens: lyke as they vse to doe now a dayes. Moreouer, in the shieldes, the name ofeuery souldiour was written with letters, and also of what bande euerye one was, or of what hundred. Thereby by these it is manifest that a legion well furnished and ordred is, as it were, a moste sure defenced citie, which caried with it euery where all thinges necessarie vnto battayle: neither feared the sodaine comminge of the enemies, whiche also in the middle of the playne fieldes coulde fortifie it selfe quickely with trenche and bulwarke. Whiche also had within it selfe all manner of warriours, and furniture fitte for the warre. Therefore if any do couet in open battayle to ouercome the rude and barbarous people, let hym earnestly desire & praye that according to the wyll and pleasure of God, and the appointement of the victorious prince, and the good guiding &

ordering

ordering of a valiaunt captaine, the armies maye bee repaired and made vp againe with younge and freshe souldiours. And within shorte space younger men being skilfully picked out and exercised diligently euery daye, both in the morning and after noone, with all manner of martiall assayes and feates of warre, shall sone be equall to those olde souldiours whiche haue subdued the whole worlde. Neither let your maiestie be moued O Cæsar, that the olde custome which in tymes paste did flourishe and was best liked, is nowe altered and chaunged. But the cõtinuance of this good prouision & happie successe consisteth in you, that is for the safetie of the common wealth, both to inuente newe thinges, and to restore the olde. Euery worke seemeth harde before a man assaye: but if experte and politike men bee appointed to picke out and choose souldiours, an armie meete for the warres, may quickely be gathered, and diligently instructed: for any thing may bee brought to passe by diligence and policie, if sufficient and competent expenses be allowed.

¶ Besides the strengthe of the body, the cunning or knowledge of ciphers and countyng, must be regarded in younge souldiours.

Chapter. xix.

BUt for as muche, as in armies there bee many scholes and exercises of cheualrie, whiche doe require cunning and expert souldiours, it is verye expedient that they which doe admitte and allowe the young souldiours, should searche out diligently, and knowe in euery one the bignes of the stature, the strengthe of the body, and the promptnes of his mynde. But in certaine the cunning of ciphers and augurim, and exercise of reckening and casting accompte is required. For the accompte of all the whole legion, whether it bee of the diligent seruice, or of the numbers of souldiours, or els of money, is daily registred in the actes or chronicles, with greater diligẽce almost then the trade of victualling, or ciuile gouernement, is noted in the register bookes of the citie,

ritie. They note also the continual watches in time of peace. Also the warding on the daye tyme, and the charges or offices in carying from place to place: amongest all the centuries and companies, what the souldiours doe by course: that none be charged or burdened more then is due and right, or if any haue libertie graunted and are exempted. The names of thē whiche ordred their courses, are noted in the bookes. When any man hath receiued a pasporte, and for how many dayes it is noted in the abbridgementes. For at that tyme a pasporte was graunted very hardely, except it were for most iuste and probable causes. Neither the souldiours whiche were lately begonne and entered, were assigned to any certayne seruice, nor any priuate charge committed vnto them. For why, it was not thought meete and conuenient that any souldiour of the prince or chiefe captaine, whiche is founde meate, drincke and clothing, of the commō prouision, should attende vpon priuate commodities. Notwithstāding, there were souldiours appointed to wayte on the chiefe Iudges & tribune, and other that were in authoritie, whiche were called Accensi, that is to saye, souldiours appointed to bee about great officers. For whē the legion was fully made vp & perfecte, these were added whiche nowe wee doe call Supernumerarios, aboue the iust number. And yet the very ordinarie souldiours, did carie ferdels or būdels into the campe, that is to saye, woode, haye, water, and strawe. For of this they were called Munifices, because they did those commendable thinges whiche they were charged withall.

Howe souldiours ought to put asside the halfe part of any gift in money, or other thinges geuen them, in the keeping of suche as are standerd bearers.

Chapter. xx.

This thing in times passe was excellently wel ordeined and appointed of the auncient men, that the one halfe of suche thinges as were geuē the souldiours, should be set aparte with the standerdes, and there should be kepte

for the

for the vse of these souldiours, least through excesse and riot, or the getting of vayne thinges, it might be wasted of their owne companions. For the moste parte of men, and namely the poorer sorte, doe spende and laye forth willingly so much as they haue, or can come by. But this sequestration or putting aside of the money, firste of all is proued profitable and commodious, euen for their fellowe souldiours. For seing that they are sustcined and founde meate, drinke, and clothing of the common expences, their goodes which they haue gotten in warre are encreased, according to the equall parte or one halfe of those thinges which were giuen them. Furthermore, the souldiour whiche knoweth his money to be kepte with the standerdes, dothe neuer minde to forsake the standerdes, but rather to sticke to them. He fighteth more stoutly and valiauntly for them in the battaile, as all men are cõmonly wont to doe. That is to take care for those thinges wherin he knowes their whole wealth and substaunce doth consiste. Finally, there were set abroade tẽne bagges in euery bande, in the whiche these thinges were put. There was also ioyned the .xi. bagge, into the whiche the whole legion did put a certaine portion to be bestowed on the burials: that if any of the companies died, funerall charges should be taken out of that eleuenth bagge. This accompt was kept in a basket or cophin by standerd bearers (as the report is nowe) And therfore, suche were standerdbearers, as were not only faithfull, but also learned and skilfull, whiche could both safely kepe thinges whiche were cõmitted to their custodie, and also geue iuste accompte of that, which they had in keaping, to euery man.

¶ Promotions and dignities in the legion, are so disposed and ordered, that none is aduaunced therto before he haue passed through the .x. bandes or cõpanies of the legion. Chapiter .xxj.

I thinke verelye that among the Romaynes, the legions were appointed and ordered, not onely by the pollicie of man, but also by the inspiration of God.

In the

In the whiche, tenne bandes are so sette in ordre and ioyned together, that of all those is made as it were one bodye and one societie. For the souldiours are aduaunced, and proceade through diuers bandes, and diuers companies as it were rounde about, one after an other, so that from the first bande goinge forwarde in order by little and little hee came to the tenth bande, and againe from thence he came backe agayne through the reste to the firste bande: hauing better preferrement, and his wages stil augmented. Therefore the Centurion or chiefe captaine of the forewarde, after that he ruled and gouerned all the bandes rounde about in course, by sundrie exercises and feates of armes: in the first bande he obtained that rewarde, whereof redounded innumerable commodities to him out of ỹ whole armie. Like as Primicerius, or he that hath the chiefe authoritie in the principall office of the ouerseers or other rulers, doth come to some honest and gainefull preferrement in warfare: euen so the horsemen of euery bande, doe courteously vse their owne companie with good fellowshippe: because the horsemen and footemen do naturally vary & dissagree one with an other. Therefore by this ioyning, and as it were linking together of the armie, good agreement was kept and continued throughout al the bandes, both of horsemen and footemen.

¶ What difference is betwene trumpetters, blowers of hornes, or shawmes and suche like. Chapiter. xxij.

Moreouer, an armie hath trumpettes, cornettes, and shawmes. The trompetters doe call the souldiours to battayle: and againe doe call them backe blowing the retraite. The cornettes were an ornament to set foorthe the whole armie, bothe in the marching forewarde toward to the battaile, and also in the retiring from the fighte. As often as these do blowe, not onely souldiours, but also standerdes, are ready at the sounding of them to remoue. Therefore, as oftē as the souldiours marche forward alone to any

buſines or ſkirmiſhes, the trumpetters doe blowe, and the ſouldiours only do come together at ꝯ ſound of the trũpets. As often as the ſtanderdes muſt be remoued, the blowers of cornettes do ſounde. But when they do fighte, both ꝯ trumpettes and the cornettes doe ſounde together. Alſo Claſsicũ, is called that noyce whiche the trumpetters doe make with the ſoũde of a cornet. This is a notable ſigne of great power and authoritie royal, becauſe this is ſoũded when the prince, chieftayne, or generall captaine is preſent, or els when a ſouldiour for ſome hainous offence is put to death. For this muſt nedes bee done by the ſtatutes and lawes of the generall: but if the ſouldiours goe forth to kepe the watches, to carie thinges from place to place, or to doe any woorke, or to make a rode, at the ſounde of the trumpettes they doe it, and by the ſounde of the ſame doe retire to the cãpe agayne. But when the ſtanderdes doe marche, or in marching when they ſhould ſtaye, the blowers of the cornettes ſounde to bothe theſe. The whiche thing in dede for this cauſe is obſerued & kept in all maner of exerciſes, ſkirmiſhes, rodes, and marchinge forwarde of the armie, that in the fighte the ſouldiours might more eaſely obeye: if the captaines ſhould commaunde them, either to fight or to ſtaye, to purſue, or to retire. For this proofe is plaine that ſuch things muſt be practiſed at vacant time and leaſure, whiche of neceſſite muſt bee atchieued and done in the battell.

¶ Of the exerciſe of ſouldiours. Chapiter. xxiij.

THe appointing and adminiſtration of an armie, being orderlye deſcribed, let vs returne to exerciſe againe: whereof (as it is ſayde already) Exercitus, that is an hoſte hathe deriued the name. The younge and newe ſouldiours were exerciſed with al kinde of weapons & feates of chiualry, both in the morning and after noone. But the olde beaten and expert ſouldiours, once a daye were exerciſed in armes. For neither longe age, nor number of yeares, doth teache the feates of armes, but the continuall vſe & ſtudie of

die of exercise: and a souldiour not exercised and traínde vp in feates of warre, although hee hath beene neuer so longe in wages, yet hee is alwayes but a younge begynner, and altogether ignoraunt in handling his weapon, whiche on the holye dayes is set abroade for to behoulde in the exercise. Therefore not onely they, which were vnder the chiefe maisters, did learne by daylye exercise the handlyng of armoure and weapons, and the swiftenes and nimblenes of the body, but also all the souldiours a lyke did exercise the same. For swiftenes and agilitie of the bodye, and also the cunning bothe to stryke the enemie and defende hym selfe, is chieflye gotten by exercise and practise, especially if they fight neere at hande with swordes. But this is more weightie and needfull that they learne in their playing exercise to keape theyr orders, and that in so great sturres and thronges, beinge vsed to the lyke in these exercises, wherin they are firste trained and entered, they doe wayte vppon their owne banners and ensignes, and that among the well trayned and experte souldiours, there bee no erroure or disorder committed, although in the common sorte there may bee very great confusion. It is also very good that the younge souldiours bee exercised with some poste or stake, where they maye learne to stryke at the sydes, the legges, and heades, eyther with the thruste, or with ryght downe strokes. Let them also accustome to leape and strike together: to bawte against their shielde, as if they were dauncynge, and skypppe downe againe: sometyme to runne forwarde skipping and leaping, and fetchynge of gambolds, sometyme to steppe awaye quickelye, and leape backe agayne. Let them exercise also to throwe dartes a farre of at the postes or stakes, that they bothe maye bee more cunninge in castinge straighte, and more nimble and quicke with the right hande. But the archers and slyngers, dyd set vp some broome for a marke, or bundels of shrubbes, or strawe, that standing sixe hundred foote from the marke, oftentymes they might hitte it with their arrowes, or with their stoones leuelled out of a slynge staffe. Therefore, more boldely they did that in the battell

whiche before they had exercised in sporte in the fielde. They muste also at all tymes accustome them selues, that they swynge the slynge, but once about the head onelye, when a stone is caste out of it. And all the souldiours did vse with one hande to caste stones of a pounde weighte, whiche exercise is thought more readie, because it needeth not a slinge. They were also compelled alwaye and with continuall exercise, to caste dartes or leaden plummettes: in so muche that for the horsemen in wynter season, large galeries were couered with tyles or shingles, whiche are cliftes of woode: or if they did fayle, with readde, flagges or stubble, or els strawe: and also certayne large places made for the footemen, and couered in lyke maner: in the whiche in the tyme of stormes, wyndes, or foule weather, the armie was enstructed and exercised with armoure and weapons vnder couert. But the other dayes in wynter, if snowe and rayne dyd ceasse, they were compelled to exercise them abroade in the fielde: leaste if this custome should be lefte of, the mindes and also the bodyes of the souldiours myght bee weakened. It is good also that they vse often to cutte downe woode, to carye burdens, to leape ouer ditches, to swymme in the Sea, or Ryuers, to walke a good rounde pace, or to runne yea, although they bee loden with the weyght of their armoure & other burthens: that daily labour in time of peace, mighte not seeme harde, or paynefull in tyme of warre. Therefore, lyke as the whole legion is exercised, euen so the aydes ought to bee exercised daylye. For lyke as a well tryaned and exercised souldiour desires the battayle, euen so the vnexperte and ignoraunt, dothe feare the same. Laste of all wee muste knowe that in fyghte, vse and experience, dothe auayle more then force. For if the teachynge to handle weapons doe ceasse, and cunnyng in feates of armes be not regarded, then a countrey clowne is as good as the best souldiour.

¶ Examples

¶ Examples of exhortations, and the exercise in warlike affaires, taken of other artes and sciences. Chapiter. xxiiij.

The wrastler, the hunter, the carter, commonly for a small reward, yea, for fauour of the common people, vse to kepe and encrease their cunning and knowledge with daily exercise. Muche more it behoueth a souldiour, by whose manhode and valiauntnes, the common wealth is defended and preserued, perfectly to knowe, and by continuall exercises to retaine and kepe the cunning in martial affaires and feates of warre: to whome often chaunceth not onelye a glorious victorie, but also proies of great price: and whome, also both the lawe of armes and the good iudgement of the generall, will aduaunce to wealthe and honoure. The cunning stage plaiers do not leaue of their exercises, loking onlye for prayse and commendation of the common people: a souldiour then chosen and admitted by a solemne othe, whether he be a young souldiour or an olde, ought not to ceasse, discontinewe or bee slacke in the exercise of chiualrie, who muste fight both for his owne saffetie, and also for the libertie and safegarde of his countrey: especially seinge there is an olde and wyse saying, that all maner of sciences doe consiste in continuall studie and exercise.

¶ A reherſall of Iron tooles and other engines of the legion. Chapiter. xxv.

An army also commonly vanquisheth and conquereth the enemies not onely through the multitude of souldiours, but also through diuers kindes of Iron tooles, and other engines. First of all, it is furnished with shot, whiche no coate armooure nor tergettes are able to abide. For in euery century or hundred, they vse to haue a fielde piece: the whiche a mule was appointed to drawe. And the companies of one pauiliõ, that is to say. xi. men, were assigned to addresse, and set forth the same. For the greater these

pieces

peeces be, the further and more strongly they shoote the pellets. And they not onlye defende the Campe, but also in the field they are planted behinde the battell of the complete armed men. The brunt and violence wherof, neyther ỹ horsemen with coates of fence, neither footemen with their shieldes, are able to withstand. And there are wont to be in one Legion lb. fielde peeces: also tenne greater peeces called Onagri, that is to saye, in euerye cohort one, and they are carryed in tilted cartes with two Oxen, that if by chaunce the ennemyes came to assaulte the rampyre and bulwarke, the campe mighte be defended with arrowes and pellets. The Legion also doth carrye with it, boates made hollow of one peece of timber with very longe cordes, and sometimes also with yron chaynes: and forasmuch as they are ioyned together (as they saye) all of one peece of timber and bordes ioyned together, and layde vppon them: by the helpe of these, both the footemen and horsemen safelye passe ouer ryuers, which otherwise without bridges they could not passe ouer. It hath also yron clampes which they call Lupos, and yron hookes fastened to great longe poles. Likewyse it hath for dispatching the worke about the ditches and trenches, mattockes, spades, shouels, rakes, maundes, baskets, chipaxes, sawes, with the which stakes and other stuffe are squared & sawen a sunder. It hath also artificers with all kinde of yron tooles, which for the assault of the Cittyes of the ennemyes maye make engines, which they call Testudines, and Musculos, that is to saye, engines of warre to beate downe walles, wherby they are defended which do approch the walles of a Cittyes besieged. And Arietes, which were peeces of ordinance, made lyke a rammes head to beat downe ỹ walles. And Vineas, which are an ordinaunce of warre made of timber & hurdles, vnder the which men went surely to the walles of a towne besieged. Also battell rammes & towers mouable. But least in reherſing euery thing more be sayd then neede: a legion ought euery wher to carye with it all maner of thinges, which are thoughte necessarye in anye kinde of warre: that in what place soeuer it shall pitch the Campe, it may make an armed Cittye.

The thirde booke of Flauius Vegetius Renatus of the feates of warre.

The Prologue.

The auncient Chronicles do testifye that the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, and ꝯ Macedonians, haue bene chiefe Lordes and mighty rulers. But the Athenians haue not onlye taken diligent trauayle in feates of warre, but haue also in diuers sciences famouselye flourished. As for the Lacedemoniãs they had their chiefest regarde, and applyed themselues most to warre. For they first of al other, gathering the experiments of fight by the successe therof, are affyrmed to haue written of warre: in such sort ꝯ they brought that which was thought to cõsist in mãhoode & good fortune, into a forme of knowledge & cunning: & cõmaunded the masters of Armes (which they cal Takrikous) to teach their youth the vse & diuersitye of fightinge. Men worthy of prayse & much to be marueled at, which would be cunninge in that science, without the whiche, other sciences are altogether nothing. The Romaynes following their ordinãces both haue kepte in vse, and also sette forth in writinge, the rules of martial pollicye: ꝯ which being dispersed abroad in diuers Authors & bookes, you haue cõmaunded mee most victorious Emperour, as my meane knowledge in learning shalbe able briefelye to abridge: least the multitude of those rules should bring tediousnes, or the small pointes be deuoyde of due and full credence. But howe greatlye the knowledge of the Lacedemonians haue preuayled in battaile (to let the other passe) it is declared by the example of Xantippus: which toke Attilius Regulus, and gaue the ouerthrow to the armye of ꝯ Romaynes, whiche before had beene conquerours against the Carthaginians. All whiche he did not by prowesse and manhoode, but by the helpe of pollicye, and that triumphinglye, and at one onset to the dispatchinge of that whole battaile, and bringinge it to an ende. Hannibal when he prepared to come into Italye, sought for some Lacedemonian to leade and guide ꝯ Armye, by whose counsels (although inferiour in nomber & strength) he vtterlye destroyed so manye Consulles, so mightye and great Legions. He therefore that desyreth peace, let him prepare for warre: he ꝯ coueteth the victorye, let him diligentlye trayne and enstructe his souldiours: he that wysheth for prosperous successe, let him fight with art and pollicye, not at all aduenture and by chaunce. No man dare prouoke or offende him, whom hee doth perceyue to be the better or superiour, if the matter come to blowes,

What maner or of what nomber an Armye ſhoulde be of.

The firſt Chapter.

IN the firſt Booke I haue ſhewed the muſteringe and exercyſe of yonge ſouldiours: in ꝯ ſeconde was taught the orderinge of a Legion, and the knowledge & ſcience of warfare. But this third booke doth ſound the Trompettes and bloweth out the Alarum. For therefore are thoſe thinges written before, that theſe wherein the cunninge of conflictes and the chiefeſt pointe of the victorye doth conſiſt, mighte the ſooner, by obſeruing ſome order in teachinge, be vnderſtoode: and thereby profite the more. An hoſt or armye is called a multitude, as well of Legions as of aydes, and alſo of horſemen, gathered together to make warre. The maner whereof is, to be knowen of the maiſters of armes. For whereas we reade examples of Xerxes, Darius, Mithridates, and other kinges, which haue had in theyr armyes infinite nombers of people: it doth euidently appeare that ouer great armyes, haue oftner bene deſtroyed through the greatnes of their owne nomber, then throughe the manhoode of their ennemyes. For the greater multitude is ſubiecte to manye chaunces: in iourneyes and vyages, it is alwayes ſlower by reaſon of the vaſtnes thereof. And when it traueyleth a lengthe, it chaunceth oftentimes to be inuaded, and to ſuffer loſſe, thoughe the ennemyes be but fewe. And in paſſinge of roughe places or ryuers, it is oftentimes decepued by the lettes and ſtayes of the carryages. Moreouer for the great nomber of cattel and horſes, forage is gathered and gotten not without great labour.

Also the trouble and daunger in prouidinge grayne, and the scarcitye thereof, which in anye maner of vyages is to be auoyded, doth eftsones encumber the greater armyes. For with howe greate studye and diligence soeuer victualles be prepared, yet the moe that they be employed and distributed vnto, the sooner they do fayle. The very water also sometimes doth scantly suffice a greate multitude. If so be that ỹ armye by chaunce should be put to flighte, it must needes be that of a great nomber, a great meanye must be slaine: and that they which haue escaped being once thoroughly afrayde, will afterwarde feare to fight againe. But the auncient mẽ of warre which by experience had learned remedyes against incumberaũces, would not haue theyr armyes so huge in nũber, as well trayned vp in the feates of warre. Therefore in smaller battayles, they thoughte one Legion with the aydes ioyned vnto it, that is to saye, tenne Thousande footemen and two Thousand horsemen, able to suffice: which armye the Pretors beinge as meaner Captaynes, did vse to leade forth when anye vyage was in hande. If the power of the ennemyes were great, then the mighte of the Consulles (as who saye a greater authoritye) was sent with xx. Thousande footemen, and foure Thousand horsemen. If that an infinite nũber of cruell people had rebelled: then in so great and daungerous time of neede, two Captaines, namely both the Consulles were sent with two armyes, with suche commaundemente, that they shoulde foresee that the common wealth should take no damage nor detriment. Finally whẽ as ỹ Romaynes almost al their time fought in diuers realmes against diuers and sondrye ennemyes, their souldiours were for this cause the more sufficiente, because they iudged it not so profitable to haue great armyes, as well instructed and trayned in the knowledge of feates of armes. Yet prouided alwayes that there should not be in the campe a greater nomber of the confederate helpes, then of Cittizens of Rome.

After

¶ After what maner the health of an armye should be maintayned. Chapiter. ij.

NOwe I will declare (which thinge ought chiefelye to be foreseene) how the health of the armye may be preserued: that is to saye, by reasonable places, waters, time, medecine, and exercise. For the places that the souldiours do not tarye long in a pestilent and vnholsome country, nigh vnto marisses or fennes, apt to breede sickenes: nor in fieldes wanting water, nor hilles without woode: nor in ꝑ Sommer withoute tentes and pauilions: least that goinge late from their place, they bring sickenes on them throughe the heate of the Sunne, and wearines of their iourneye: but rather in Sommer season ꝑ they come to the places whervnto they meane to trauayle, before it be day: that in cruell and could Winter they trauayle not by night through frost and snowe, or sustaine the scarcitye or want of wood: or litle store of apparell. For that souldiour can neither be healthfull nor fitte for anye voyage, which is constrayned to quake for could. Neyther let the armye vse noysome or fennie waters: for thadrincke that is made of naughtye water is like to poyson, and breadeth the pestilẽce in those that drincke it. Moreas touchinge that anye companye of souldiours being sicke by anye such chaunce, maye be refreshed with conuenient meates, and healed with the helpe and cunning of ꝑ Phisitions: the vyligence of the rulers and Tribunes, yea and of the lieuetenaunte himselfe which executeth the greater power, shalbe requyred herevnto. For they are in verye ill case vppon whom the necessity both of warre and sickenes doth lye. But the experte and cunninge menne in feates of warre haue thought, that dailye exercises of armes coulde more auayle to ꝑ health of souldiours, then Phisitiõs could. Therefore they would haue the footemen in raigne & snow, continually to be exercised for health vnder couert, at other times in the plaine field. Likewyse they commaunded that the horsemẽ should dailye exercise both themselues and their horses, not onlye in the plaine: but also in most difficult pas-

sages as in steepe downe places, & in the gaping of ditches. That nothing mighte happen vnto them in the necessitye of fight, which they knew not before. Wherof it is to be vnderstande with howe greate studye and diligence, the armye should at all times be learned the knowledge of armes: whē as the vse of labour both maye get them healthy in theyr tentes, and victorye in the battaile. In the time of Harueste & Sommer, if a multitude of souldiours to tarye longe in a place, there must needes arise most hurtful sickness, both of the infection of the water, and smell of the verye filthe with corrupte breathinge and naughtye ayre: whiche none other way can be kept from them, but with often remouing of the Campe.

¶ With how great care and regarde, forage or graine ought to be prouided and kepte. Chap. iij.

Oder doth requyre that we should now speake of the prouision of forage & graine. For scarcitye doth more consume an armye, then fighting: and hunger is more cruell then the swoorde. Moreouer other casualtyes be helped in time, but the prouiding of forage & victuall hath no helpe or remedye, vnlesse they be layed vppe before hande. In any maner of enterprise this is one and the chiefest counsayle that thine armye may haue sufficiēt to liue with: that lacke of necessarye thinges maye weaken the ennemyes. Therfore before warre be begonne there ought to be a wyse and prudēt deuyse, for money and other charges, that forage, graine, & other victuals (whiche the olde custome did requyre of forrayners) might be gathered in time: and greater store therof then is sufficient alwayes layed vp in suche places as are strongly fenced, and most conuenient to serue the turne. If so be that the tributes or paymentes do fayle, all thinges must be compassed & gotten with money payed before hand. For possession of riches is not without care, except it be kept with force of armes. But manye times there is twyse as

much

much neede, & a siege oftētimes is longer then they thincke it wilbe: when as the ennemyes themselues beinge almoste famished, do not geue ouer to besiege them whom they hope may be ouercome wyth famyne. Furthermore whatsoeuer cattell, graine, or wyne, the ennemye that causeth warre cā preuente and take to their owne prouision of victuall: (the owners thereof not onlye beinge warned by publicke commaundement, but also constrayned by chosen searchers) the same must be brought to conuenient houldes, and strengthened with garrisons of armed men: or to safe and surelye defenced Cittyes: and the forraine people muste be called earnestlye vppon, to keepe themselues and all that they haue within their walles before the ennemyes violent hye enter in. For the repayring of the walles and all maner of ordinance, muste be loked too before. For if the ennemyes do once preuent them beinge otherwyse occuppyed, euerye thinge is disordered through feare: and such things as are to be demaūded of other Cittyes, are alwayes denyed after that the passages be once stopped. But to keepe thase thinges trustelye that may be saued, and to destribute them moderatlye, is as good as if there were plenty, namelye if from the beginning they be well looked to. But it is to late to spare when nothinge is remaynynge. In harde and daungerous voyages the auncient warriours did vse to bestowe the victuals, rather accordinge to the nomber of the souldiours, then to the worthynes of them. So that after the necessitye was past, then recompence was made to those that were worthye, of the common charge and coste. In the winter, the scarcenes of woode and forage, in Sommer the lacke of water is to be auoyded. But the wante of grayne, wyne and vyneger, and also of salte, at all times is to be shunned: so that such souldiours as can do least seruice in the fielde, should defend the Cittyes and houldes with armoure, arrowes, slingstaues, slinges, and also stones, artillerye of all sortes. And chiefelye wee must take heede that the vnwyse cumspecte simple forrayne people confederate with vs, be not decepued by the craft and periurye of the ennemyes.

for oftentimes deceitful couenaunts and fayned peace, haue done more harme to suche as are lighte of credite, then the force of armes. By reason whereof, the enmi myes if they be altogether do suffer hũger, and if they be dispersed they are easelye onercome by such as euery foote will be skirmishing with them.

¶ After what maner they ought to foresee, leaste the souldiours do make any sturre or sedition. Chap. .iiij.

AN armye gathered oute of sondrye places, sometime doth stirre vp sedition and vprore, and when they are not willinge to fight, they fayne themselues to be angrye: to the intente they shoulde not be ledde to battayle. Whiche they chiefelye do, that liued at home idlye and deliciouslye. For they, which would shrincke frõ fighting, rũne headlong into such desperatnes, because they are greeued wt the sharpenes of ẏ laboure, wherwith they are not acquainted, which notwithstanding in the voyage they must needes sustayne, and moreouer because they are afrayde to enter into battayle. To the which wound men haue vsed to laye manye and diuers medecines: that they maye be holden, whiles they be yet a sunder in theyr places, to all maner of knowledge and exercise with most strete sharpenes of the Tribunes, lieuetenauntes, and also the chiefe and principall of the armye: that they obserue nothinge els, but their solempne vowe and promise, and that wyth descretion: that they haue no leysure to set their mindes on pasportes: let them vse cõtinuallye to attende to theyr name, and to their ensignes: let them practise dailye the runninge of the field (as they terme it) and the dilligent beholding of the handlinge of armoure and weapons: They must be helde verye often to these exercises, and that most part of the daye, euen till they sweate agayne, to shootinge and to throwinge stones, eyther with a slinge or with the hande, to weare armour that they maye weilde themselues in it, to pitching the barre, and wich wa-

sters

sters as thoughe they should fight with swordes, now with the point, nowe with the edge to strike one at another.
Also they must with like diligence be trayned in running & leaping, that they may skippe ouer ditches, if the sea or a riuer be nye to their tentes. In Sommer time all the souldiours shoulde be constrayned to swimme: moreouer to cutte downe woode, to iourney through bushye and shrubbye places, to square timber, to scoure the trenche, to take and kepe some place, and to endeuour themselues wyth shieldes, violentlye meeting one another, that they be not beaten from it by theyr owne companyes. In suche wyse the souldiours of the Romaynes beinge exercised and trayned at home, whether they be of the Legions or of ꝑ aydes, or of the horsemē, when they shall come from diuers places to take a voyage, they must needes through an ambitious desyre to trye their manhoode, rather wyshe for warre, then for peace. No mā doth take anye thought for seditious styrring, which hath anye confidence in his cunninge and strength. But the Captaine ought to be cyrcumspecte, if there shalbe anye troublesome or seditious souldiours amonge all the Legions, or aydes, or troupes of horsemen, that he may know them by the Tribunes, deputyes & principall men, not for the ill will of the enformers, but for the truth of the matter: and the same to be seperated from the Campe by some witty deuise, to do and accomplishe some thinge, whiche euen vnto themselues maye seeme such, as in a maner they would wishe for: or els let them * fortifye and keepe some holdes and Cittyes, * wᵗ such a preetye subtiltye, that whereas in deede they be reiected and displyed, they maye seeme to be chosen of purpose.
For a multitude doth neuer burst out to disobedient stubbernes with like agreement: but they are styrred vp by a fewe, which hope they may with a nomber offende freely without punishment, for their vices and wickednes. If so be that extreeme necessitye shall requyre a remedye to be had therein, the best way is after the maner of our forefathers to punishe onlye the Authors and beginners of such faultes, that feare may come to all, punishment to a fewe. Notwithstanding

those

thoſe Captaynes are moꝛe woꝛthy of prayſe, whoſe armyes laboure and vſe hath inſtructed to ſobernes and humilitye, then they whoſe ſouldiours the feare of puniſhmente doth conſtrayne to obedience.

¶ Howe manye kindes there be of enſignes of warre. Chapter. v.

MAnye thinges oughte to be well learned and marked of them that fighte: foꝛ why, negligence ought not to be pardoned, where as they fighte foꝛ life and death. But amongeſt other thinges nothinge is moꝛe profitable to the victoꝛye, then to obeye the warninges of the enſignes. Foꝛ when as in the hurlye burlye of battayles, a great nomber cannot be ruled with one voyce onelye, and when as of verye neceſſitye manye thinges foꝛthwith muſt be commaũded and done: the auncient vſe and experience of all nations hath inuented, how the whole armye by the enſignes ſhould knowe and follow that, which the onlye Captayne iudged to be profitable and expedient. Ther are therfoꝛe as it is manifeſt, thꝛe kindes of enſignes, one ſoꝛt hauinge voyce which are called Vocalia, another partlye hauing voyce, and partlye not, whiche they call Semiuocalia, the thirde without voyce, and they are called Muta: of ꝑ which they that haue voyce, and they that partlye haue voyce, are perceyued and knowen by the eare: but the dumme without voyce, are referred to the eyes. Vocalia, are ſayd to be they, which are pꝛonounced with the voyce of a man, ſo that in the watche oꝛ in the battayle it is accompted foꝛ a tokẽ: as foꝛ example: victoꝛye, rewarde, vertue, God be with vs. The triumphe of the Emperour & ſuche other, whatſoeuer they will geeue which haue the greateſt authoꝛitye and power in the armye. Yet we muſt knowe that theſe wooꝛdes muſt euerye day be altered: leaſt by vſe the ennemyes maye knowe our token oꝛ watchewoꝛde: and ſearchers oꝛ ſpyes may be amongeſt our men without daunger and puniſhment. Siminocalia be called which are geuen by the trumpette, oꝛ the hoꝛnes, oꝛ the ſhawme. The trumpet which is ſtreight is called Buccina,

which

which is bowed towardes it selfe with a brasen cycle. The horne of the wilde bulles beinge bounde with siluer is best hearde, when it is moderated with arte, & the breath of him that bloweth it. For by these with most certayne & vndoubted soundes, the armye doth knowe whether they oughte to staye or go forwarde, or certainlye to retyre: whether they should followe the chase anye longe waye, or sounde the retraite. Mutasigna, be the Eagles, Dragons, banners, redde penoncelles, redde scarfes, feathers, crestes of helmets. For whether soeuer the leader shall commaund these to be carried, thyther of necessitye must al the souldiours go, following and waytinge vppon their owne ensigne. There be also dumme signes, whiche the Captayne of the warre doth commaunde to be obserued: in the horses, in garmentes, and also in the verye armoure: to the intent the ennemy maye be knowen from their owne companye. Moreouer he signifyeth some thinge with his hande, or (after the cruell maner of rude and straunge people) with a whippe, or els by mouing or styrring his apparel which he hath on. All which thinges all the souldiours shoulde acknowledge both to followe and vnderstande in their places, in iourneys, in all maner exercise of the campe. For continuall vse of that thinge is necessarye in time of peace, whiche in the confusion and trouble of ỹ battayle should be kept. Also there is a dumme and common signe, as often as in the goinge of a multitude, the dust styrred vppe, ryseth like cloudes, and doth bewraye the comminge of the ennemye. Likewyse if armyes be deuided, the flame of fyre in the night, and in the daye time the smoke, doth signify vnto their fellowes that, which by no other meanes can be shewed. Sometimes they do hang out beames in the Turrettes of Cittyes, which otherwhiles being raysed vppe, and otherwhyles letten downe, do declare what thinges be done.

¶ Howe great subtiltye ought to be vsed when an armye is remoued the ennemyes beinge nighe. Chapter. vj.

They

THey which with great diligence haue learned the feates of warre, do affyrme: that no perilles are wonte to happen in iourneyes, then in ỹ very batteil it selfe. For in ioyninge together of the battayle, all the souldiours be armed and see the ennemye in the face, and comes wyth courage to fight against him. But in the iourney a souldiour is lesse armed and lesse heedfull, and he is sodenlye troubled with the force and deceite of the priuye inuasion of the ennemye. Therefore the Captayne ought with all diligence, and with al care to foresee least in going he suffer inuasion of his ennemye: and that, although he not easelye, yet without damage or losse, he resist and repell the same. First of all he ought to haue perfectlye set forth the passages of all the countryes in the which the warre is: so that hee maye learne the distances of places, not onlye by the length thereof, but also the fashion or qualitye of the wayes: that hee consider the shortnes of wayes, the turninges, the mountaynes, the ryuers beinge faithfullye described vnto him. Insomuch that the wittyer Captaynes are affyrmed to haue had the iourneying descriptions of countryes, in which they must needes haue to do, not onlye dyligentlye noted, but also painted before their eyes: that they might point out the waye to them that should go, not onlye with the aduisement of the minde, but also with the sight of the eyes. Furthermore he should dyligentlye enquyre euerye thinge seuerallye of the wyser men, and such as be of reputation and skilfull of the places, and so gather the truth of a meanye. Moreouer when there is daunger in chosing the wayes, he should take meete guides and cunninge, and deliuer the same to the safe keepinge of others, with a sure promyse eyther of punishment or of rewarde, if they serue trulye. For those guides shalbe profitable when they shall vnderstande that in no wyse they can escape or runne awaye, and that for their faythfulnes & truth rewardes be prepared, and for their vntruth and false dealinge punishmentes are readye. Also it muste be foreseene ỹ wyse and experte men be sought, leaste the errour of two or three maye purchase daunger to the whole multitude.

Some-

Sometime ignorance and bolde rudenes doth promise manye thinges, and beleueth that he knoweth ẏ which hee doth not know. But the chiefest point of this warenes and heede taking is: that it be kepte close vnto what places & by what wayes the armye should passe forth. For it is thought ẏ in al vyages the thinge which muste be done, shoulde be not knowen. For this cause the olde men of warre haue had in their Legions the badge or signe of Minotaurus, that as he was sayd to be hidde in the innermost and most secrete place of ẏ maze or intricate place called Labyrinthus: euen so the intent of the Captayne should be kept secrete and hidde. That iourneye is taken in hand without feare, which the ennemye doth not so much as once suspect: but because spyes sent out on the other parte, do eyther see or suspecte which waye the armye goeth, and manye times there wanteth not runnagates and traytours: it must be declared howe these beinge at hande, may be preuented and resisted. The Captayne readye to marche forth with his armye, must sende most trustye and fine witted men with the best tryed horses: which maye searche the places throughe which they must take their iorneye, before and behinde, on the righte hand and left hande, least the ennemyes go about to set an ambushmente, and lye in waite to deceiue them. But ẏ searchers or spyes do worke more safelye by night then by daye. For he, after a certaine maner is a traytour to himselfe, whose spye or scoutewatch maye be taken of his ennemyes. Therefore let the horsemẽ go first: after them the footemen, carriages, Archers, pages, and in the middest the waggons must be placed: so that part of the light armed footemen, and light harnessed horsemen do followe. For seldome as they do marche on, they are inuaded before, but more often behinde. Also on the sydes ẏ carriages ought to be garded with a good compa ny of souldiours. For they that lye in waite, oftentimes with a cõtrarye course rushe into some other place of the armye, then where they are suspected. This also is specially to be obserued, that ẏ part, to the which the ennemye is lykest to come, may be fortifyed with the most choise horsemen, with lighte armed

armed men, and also with archers on foote set purposely to withstand them. If so be that the ennemyes do assayle on euery syde, then euery syde must be defended. But least sodaine trouble should exceedingly hurte them, the souldiours are to be warned afore hande, that they be ready with mind and courage, and that they haue theyr weapons in theyr hãdes. For sodaine chaunces which amase men most whẽ they are put to theyr pintche, are nothing fearefull, if they be prouided for afore hande. The olde men of warre did most dilligentlye take heede least the souldiours in theyr fight should be troubled by the pages sometime beinge hurt, sometimes being in feare, and least archers throughe theyr crye should be made afrayde: leaste that eyther beinge scattered farre a sunder, or gathered togethered on heapes, they might let their owne partye more then profite them, & by reason therof further the ennemyes. And therefore euen as the souldiours marche forth, so they also leade the carryages well appointed vnder certaine ensignes. Finallye they did choise of the verye pages (which they cal headpeece bearers) such as were fit and cunninge by experience: whom they make as it were Captaynes, ouer two hundred fletchers & other yong fellowes, and not aboue. Unto these they gaue banners or flagges, ỳ they might know to which ensignes they oughte to gather their carryages together. But the fightinge men are deuided from the carriages a preatye space, least beinge thrust thicke together while the armye is in marchinge forwarde, they may be hurt in fight. As the places do differ, so the maner of defence should be altered. For in ỳ open fieldes horsemẽ vse to assault the armye, rather then footemẽ. But in places full of woods, hilles, or fennes, footemẽ are more to be dreade. This also muste be auoyded, least ỳ while one sort make to much hast another sort through negligence going to slowlye, ỳ armye be broken a sunder in the middest or els peraduenture be made thinne. For ỳ ennemyes alwayes make their inuasion there, where the armye is slender.

Therefore the most expert Captaynes of the field, the deputyes or the Tribunes must be set before, whiche maye staye them

them that go to faste, and constrayne them to make hast that go to slowlye: for they that go a greate waye before, if a sodaine inuasiō come, do not so much couet to retyre, as to flie. But they that be last, being left behinde of their owne companye, what with the violence of the ennemyes and theyr owne dispayring, are straight waye ouercome. We must also know, that the ennemyes do priuilye laye ambushmentes in such places as they perceyue meete for them: or els do assayle them with open battaile. But least anye priuye places may do hurte, that the dilligence of the Captayne prouideth for, whose dutye it is to searche euery thing before hand. Also the ambushe beinge perceyued, if it be compassed aboute politikelye, it doth suffer more perill and daunger, then it went about to do. But if an open power be prepared in the mountaines, the higher places must be taken vp with aydes sent before: to the entent that when ẏ ennemyes shal come, he maye be on the lower grounde, and then he dare not aduenture to withstande, when he seeth armed men as wel before him, as aboue his head. If so be that the wayes be narrowe, and not safe enoughe, yet it is better that souldiours go before, with hatchets and axes, and with labour to make the wayes open and plaine, then in neuer so good a waye to suffer perill and daunger. Moreouer we ought to know the vsuall trade of oure ennemyes, whether by nighte, or in the dawning of the daye, or in the time of repaste, their custome is to assayle theyr wearyed ennemyes: and to eschewe that, which after their accustomed trade we thincke they will do. Furthermore it behoueth vs to knowe, whether they canne do more with footemen, or horsemē: whether with slingers, pykemen, or archers: whether they excell vs in nomber of men, or munition & fence of armour and weapons: & then we ought to order that thing well, ẏ we know profitable to our selues, & contrary to them. We ought also to consider & deliberate, whether it be better to begin our iourney by day or by night: what & how great distaunces be of the places to ẏ which we couet to make hast: least in Sommer ẏ scarcity of water hinder vs in iorneying: in winter daūgerous fennes &

such

ſuch as men cānot paſſe, or great waters: and by ſuch meanes ẏ iourneye being letted, our hoaſt may be cōpaſſed or entrapped before it can come to the place appointed. As it is our commodityе at all times to auoyde theſe thinges: ſo if ẏ ignorance or negligence of ẏ ennemyes ſhal geue vs occaſiō, it oughte not to be let paſſe: but we ought inſtātly to allure the traytors & ſpyes, to the intent that we may knowe what our ennemye both preſently and afterwarde doth purpoſe to do: and with horſemen in readines, or light armed footemē, prepared for the purpoſe to beguile them, and ſo to caſt them into a ſodaine feare, as they be ranginge abrode ſeekinge forforage and victuals.

¶ After what maner greate ryuers maye be paſſed ouer. Chap. .vij.

IN the paſſinge ouer of ryuers they that are not verye circumſpecte, are oftentimes excedinglye moleſted. For if any water be rough and boyſterous, or the chanell verye broade, it manye times drowneth the carriages and the boyes and nowe and then ſlouthfull and lyther ſouldiours. Therefore after the foorde be ſerched, two troupes of good horſemen vpon choſen horſes are appointed, beinge ſeperate a ſunder a reaſonable ſpace, that the footemē and carryages maye paſſe ouer through the middeſt: for the former troupe doth breake the violence of the waters, and the latter doth gather and put ouer ſuch as be caughte and were vnder the water. But when the floude is deeper, ſo ẏ neyther footemā nor yet horſeman can paſſe it: if it do runne through plaine places, it is beſt to deuide ẏ ryuer into many partes wᵗ ditches, & thus being parted, ẏ paſſage ouer wil be eaſye. But ryuers are made eaſye to paſſe ouer wyth boates, or with ſpeareſtaues rammed faſt into the earth & plaunchers layed ouer them, or els with muche labour to gather together as many emptye veſſels as can be, and to laye boards ouer thē. But the experte horſemen vſe to make bundells of drye reedes or flagges, vppon the whiche they do put theyr armoure

and

and weapons, least they shoulde synke. They themselues, and their horses dyd swymme after their bundels and so passe the ryuer. But experience hathe founde out this to be a more commodious waye, that the hoste doe carie with it in cartes certayne boates, whiche they call Monoxilos, that is to say boates somewhat broade, made hollowe, all of one beame, very light according to ỹ kinde & fines of the woode, hauing boardes lykewyse and Iron nayles in a readines for that purpose. And thus a bridge being made without delay, and bounde strongly with roopes (whiche for the same purpose muste be prepared, wylbe as stronge for the tyme as if it were a bridge of stone. But the enemies are nowe alreadye vppon the bankes, and their vse is to lye in wayte, and to come vppon them that passe ouer of a sodayne. Against the whiche extremitie or neede, companies well armed, are set in the banke on eitheir syde, least they being deuided by the chanell that runneth betwene them, should be oppressed of the enemies. But the surest waye is, to fasten stakes before on both sydes, that if any assaulte be made they maye sustayne it without harme. If so bee that the bridge bee necessarye, not onely for passinge ouer, but also for commynge backe againe, and prouision of victualles: then at either ende it shoulde haue souldiours to defende it, and broade ditches should bee cut out of it with a rampire made by it, and the souldiours should keepe and defende the bridge as longe as they shall haue any necessarie affaires in those places.

¶ After what maner a campe should be placed. Chapiter. viij.

THus hauing described the maner how an armie should be ordred in the iourney, it seemeth good next to come vnto the ordering of the tentes, wherein wee muste remayne. For in tyme of warre, a fortified or walled citie is

not alwayes ready in the waye to abyde at, and it is an vnwyse poincte and very daungerous, that they shoulde staye or abyde euery where without any munition or forte: when as the souldiours being busied to take their meate, or scattered abroade to doe anye thinge pertayning to their charge: it is an easie matter to fynde out wyles to entrappe them or euer they bee aware. Finally, the darkenes of nyghte, the necessitie of sleape, the scatteringe of the horses when they feede, doe minister occasion to sodayne inuasions. In pitching a campe, it is not inough to chose a good place: except it be suche one that an other better then it can not be founde, least wee, forsakyng the better place, & our enemies takyng it to their vse, wee may chaunce to smarte for it. Wee muste also take heede in Sommer, least either corrupte water be nyghe the armie, or holsome water be farre of: In Wynter least wee lacke store of forage, or plentie of woode nowe and then: leaste the fielde wherein wee muste abyde nowe and then bee ouerflowed with sodayne stormes, leaste it bee pitched in steepe downe and roughe places, and suche as if the enemies shoulde besiege vs, wee myghte hardely get forth: leaste it bee within the reache of oure ennemies arrowes, when they caste them from hyghe places ouer oure heades. The whiche thinges being foreseene warely and dilygently as they ought to be, thou shalt make the campe, either foure square, or rounde, or three cornered, or els longewayes, according to the necessitie of the place. For the fashion or forme is not preiudiciall to any commoditie. Neuertheless, those campes are thought fayrest, whiche are longer by the thirde parte, then they are broade. But they that mewe and suruay the fielde, ought so to measure euery foote thereof, that the armie maye bee compacted accordinge to the numbre of the same. For if the campe be narrowe, they in the forefronte hemme it in to straightly. And if it be to broade, they scatter farther then they should doe. There be three wayes whereby they saye a campe may be fortified. The first they saye, is somewhat sleight, seruing them one night onely whyle they are in their iourney, that is to digge vp turues and to laye them

them in order rounde about the campe vppon heapes, and aboue them in good order to make a pale. I meane to sette stakes there, or viers and vyembles. A turfe it cut of earth, that conteineth both the grasse, the rootes & the earth also, and is cut out of the ground with an Iron spade or such like, it is made halfe a foote deepe, a foote broade, a foote and a halfe long. If it be so that the grounde be so sandy that after the fashion of a bricke, a turfe can not be cut vp, then euery man must set to his helping hand to the making of a ditche, whiche must be fiue foote broade and three foote deepe, in the inner side whereof a rãpire must be raised: so that the armie may take their rest without feare. But if the campe remaine in one place, then whether it be sommer, or winter, if so be ẏ enemie be at hande, it must with greater care and labour be fortified: for euery hundred haue their stations appointed out by the captaines and generals of the field, whiche they take and kepe thẽ vnto: and laying of their shield & fardels about their owne enlignes, they girde their swordes vnto them, & caste a trenche about the armie of .ix. foote, or .xi. or .xiii. foote broade, or els if they feare a greater power of enemies. xvii. foote broade, (for it is a custome alwayes to obserue an odde numbre) then they raise vp a rampire and hedge it about, or els driue stakes into it, & bowes of trees, least ẏ earth should slide away: vpon the whiche rãpire they make battilmentes and fortresses, euen as they doe vpon a stone wall. The captaines do measure out this worke with poles or perches. x. foote long, least any man should digge lesse then he ought, or els through his fellowes negligence shoulde digge out of square. The tribunes also ouerse this worke, neither do they departe if they be good & diligẽt in their office, before that al be finished. Now least there should be any sodaine inuasiõ on thẽ that labour, all the horsemen & part of ẏ footemẽ whiche doth not worke by reason of prerogatiue of dignitie, do stand armed in readines before the trenche, that they maye withstande the enemies inuading thẽ. Therfore, within ẏ campe ẏ stãderds are first set in their places: because there is nothing more to be had in reuerẽce of ẏ souldiours, thẽ ẏ maiestie of ẏ tyme. The pauilion called Prætoriũ, is prepared for ẏ chiefe

captaine and his companie. Other tentes are pitched for the tribunes, vnto whome water, woode, forage, are ministred by certayne companies assigned to those charges. Then accordinge to their degree, are places appointed in the campe for the legions, aides, horsemen, and footemen, wherein they may pitche their pauiliõs: and there be chosen of euery hundred foure horsemen and foure footemen, which doe keape the watches by nighte. And for as muche as it semed vnpossible, or a very harde thing, in the watche tower for euery one to continewe watching all the whole nighte: therefore the watches are deuided by an howre glasse into foure partes, that it shoulde bee neede for noone to watche more then three howres in the night. The watches are begonne by a trompetter, and after the howres be ended, they are called awaye agayne by a blower of a horne. But for all this, the tribunes doe choose and pyke out fitte and tried men, whiche maye goe aboute the watches, and shewe if anye faulte maye appeare, whome they call Circuitores, that is to say searchers of the watche. Nowe are these made a certayne degree in the warres, and are called Circitores, that is to saye, officers going aboute to see good rule in the nyghte. Yet we muste knowe that the horsemen ought to watche without the trenche and bulwarke. But euery daye tyme, after the campe bee pitchte, they doe vse to take order for warding and posthorses, some in the morninge, some after noone, for weareing of the men and horses. Among the chiefe and speciall pointes, it behoueth the captayne, whether hee remayne in the campe or in a citie, to prouide that feeding for the cattell, conueying of grayne & other kindes, the cariage of water, woode, and forage bee made assured and without daunger, from the inuasion of their ennemies. Whiche thynge otherwyse can not come to passe, excepte in meete and conuenient places, by whiche the prouision of oure victualles muste passe, there bee sette and disposed places of refuge and succoure: whether they bee cities or defenced castels. If so bee that any oulde munition bee not founde, there muste hastelye bee made sure fortresses

compassed

compassed about with great ditches. For the worde fortresses, is so named being deryued of this woorde forte: as who saye, a litle forte or castle, within the whiche a certayne nũber of horsemen and footemen continuing, hauing charge to watche and attende for the saue, doe conducte and make safe the waye, for the conueyaunce of victualles. For the enemy dare scarcely aduẽture to come to those places, in which he knoweth his aduersaries to abide both before & behinde.

What maner, and howe great thinges should be considered, to vnderstande whether we ought to fight with skirmishing, and lying in wayte, or with open battayle. Chap. ix.

VWhosoeuer will vouchesafe to reade these brydgemẽts briefly gathered out of the moste experte and tried authours, he coueteth quickely to heare the lawe, or maner of a fielde foughten, and the preceptes or rules of fighting. But an open or a set battayle, is soone determined by the triall of two or three houres space: after that all hope of the syde which is ouercome, doth once begynne to fal & decay. Therefore al thinges should be thought on & assaied before, that it come to the vttermoste & laste breaking of. For good captaines dos not assaye the fielde with open battaile, where ensueth common daunger to al, but alwayes closely and priuily, that by that meanes they might destroye, or at the least terrifie their enemies, their owne souldiours being yet fresh and lustie. Concerning whiche parte, I wyll declare suche thinges as are very necessary, whiche I haue gathered out of olde wryters. The chiefe art and commoditie of the captaine, is oftentimes to debate & entreate of his owne power, and also if his enemies power, taking vnto him throughout all his armie experte and cunninge men of warre, and also wyse and discrete men, that (all flatterie set a part) which is very hurtefull, hee maye knowe whether hee or his enemies haue the greater number of fighting men: whether his men or ỹ enemies be better armed, & furnished with artillerie, whiche are moste exercised, and which in greatest daungers

are moze valiaunt. He muſt alſo enquire whether part haue better hoꝛſemen, and whether better footemē. He muſt alſo knowe that the ſtrengthe of the armie doth chiefly conſiſte in the footemen: and among the hoꝛſemen hee muſt ſee whiche were beſte with the launce, and whiche with the bowe, who haue the beſt armoure, the beſt hoꝛſes: laſt of al, whether the places in whiche they muſt fighte, be moze commodious foꝛ the enemies then foꝛ them ſelues. Foꝛ if we delite in an hoſte of hoꝛſemen, we muſt deſire the playne fieldes: if in an hoſte of footemen, we muſt choſe ſuche places, as be narrowe and ſtreight, enuironed and ſtopped with ditches, mariſſes, and fennes: oꝛ w̄ trees, & ſometime hillie places: foꝛ the whiche armie, ſtoꝛe of victuall muſt be had, rather to muche then to little. Foꝛ hunger (as men ſay) dothe pinche inwardly, and oftentimes doth ouercomme without dinte of ſwoꝛde. But chiefly he muſt conſulte and deliberate, whether it bee moze profitable to pꝛolong the vrgent neceſſitie of battaile, oꝛ to fight it out of hande. Foꝛ ſometime the aduerſarie doth hope that the voiage may ſoone be ended: and if it may be delayed any lōger, either the armie is famiſhed foꝛ lacke of victuals, oꝛ is called away to their owne, thꝛough the loue and deſire that they haue thereof: oꝛ els hauing done nothing woꝛthy of pꝛayſe, is compelled to departe thꝛough diſpaire Then many diſcouraged with paines and wearines doe foꝛſake him: ſome betraye him, and ſome yelde them ſelues to their enemies. Foꝛ in aduerſitie faithfulnes is rare, and he that came welthie, nowe beginnes to be bare and neady. It is pꝛofitable alſo to knowe what maner of man the aduerſary is, what his companions are and leaders, whether they be raſhe and haſtie, oꝛ ware and circumſpect, whether they bee hardy oꝛ feareful: cunning in the feates of warre, oꝛ ſuch as are wōte to fight at all aduenture: what valiaunt people haue foughte with them, what cowardly and fearefull: of what truſtines our aydes be, and of what foꝛce: what courage his armie is of, and what alſo our hoſte hath: and whiche parte doth moze hope foꝛ the victoꝛie, foꝛ by ſuche cogitations manhoode is

either

either encreased or diminished. By the encouraging of the captaine, euen those whiche despaire are muche boldened, & if hee bee not feareful, they waxe couragious, if he hath done any valiaunt acte, either by laying wayte, or by other occasion offered: if thinges goe not well, but fall out vnluckelye with their enemies: if he can vanquishe any of his enemies, either suche as bee weaker, or not so well armed. But you must take diligent hede that you bring not foorth the armie to fight at any tyme, if it be doubtfull or fearefull. It is very necessary to knowe whether you haue newe souldiours or olde. Whether they haue bene some little time in warres, or haue continued a good whyle in peace and quietnes: for they are to bee esteamed as younge souldiours whiche haue not fought a long season. But when the legions, aides or horsemen doe come from sundrie places to vs, a noble and worthy captaine oughte to exercise euery company severally in all kinde of weapõs and artillerie by the tribunes or marishals thereto appointed, whose diligence hee hathe tried before: and after warde shall exercise them gathered together into one place, as though they should fighte in open battaile. Hee him selfe shall often trie and proue what cunning they haue, what force, howe they agree together, whether they can be readie at the sound or blowing of the trumpettes, at the shewing of the ensignes, yea, & at euery becke and commaundement. If they doe amisse in any poinct, they must be exercised and enstructed, vntil they be cunning and experte. Although they maye bee fully enstructed in runninge in the fielde, and other exercise: in shootinge, in throwyng dartes, in settinge the armye in order: yet they muste not rashely bee broughte to the open or sette battayle vppon euerye lyght occasion, but they muste fyrste bee entered and acquainted with litle encounters. Therefore the paynefull, discrete and wyse Captayne, doothe iudge of his owne, and also of his aduersaries power, euen as hee and his counsell shoulde iudge of a ciuile matter betwene partie and partie. If he be founde

more able and better furnished in many thinges, let him not differ the conuenient and fitte occasion of fighting. But if he perceiue his enemie to bee the better, let hym auoyde the opē and sette battayle. For a fewer in numbre, and weaker in strengthe, oftentymes vnder good captaines haue obtained the victory by sodayne inuasions, and lying priuely in wayte.

¶ What must be done if any captayne haue an army out of vse of fighting, or an armie of younge souldiours. Chapiter. x.

ALl artes and sciences, and all our dayly workes doe proceede and encrease by continuall vse and exercise, which if it be true in smal thinges, howe muche more ought it to bee obserued in the greatest affaires. And who doth doubte that the knowledge and skyll of warre, is more mightie then all other thinges: by the whiche libertie is mainteined, and the dignitie of a prince enlarged, and the Empire maintcined and preserued. The Lacedemonians, in tymes past (all other kyndes of learning set a side) did iudge this onely to be obserued, and after that the Romaines lykewyse. And euen at this tyme, the barbarous and straunge nations, doe also thinke that this onely ought to be obserued and kepte. And they haue suche confidence herein, that they thynke all other thinges doe consiste in this: or that they may obtayne all thinges throughe this. This vnto them that muste fight, is very necessary, by whiche they may saue their lyfe, and obtaine the victorie. Therefore a captaine vnto whome the worthie honoures of so great power and authoritie are geuen: to whose faithfulnes and prowes, the goodes of the possessours, the defence of cities, the saftie of the souldiours, the honour of the common wealthe is committed: ought to be carefull, not onely for the whole armie, but also for euery particuler cōpanie of the same. For whatsoeuer doth happen in the warre otherwyse then well, the faulte is his, but the iniurie and hurte is common. Therefore if he guide an armie of younge souldiours, or suche as haue

haue bene long out of vse in chiualry, he ought diligently to trie and searche the strengthe, courage and experience of euery bande of the legion, and also of euery company of the horsemen. Let him also knowe (if it bee possible) by name, who is captaine vnder him, who is tribune, whiche bee his housholde seruauntes, whiche be cõmon souldiours in euery bande, and howe muche he can doe in the warre: and let him get great authoritie by sharpenes and seueritie: let him punishe all the souldiours faultes by the lawes, let him not bee thought to winke at any that offendeth, let him vnderstande and knowe the proofe and triall of all in sundrie places vpon diuers occasions. These thinges (as it behoueth) being thus ordred and looked to, when the enemies doe wander abroade careleslie, dispersed here and there for booties, then let him sende expert and tried horsemen, or els footemen with the younge and meaner souldiours, to the entent that if, by occasion the enemies bee foiled, they might bee made more cunning, and the other more bolde and hardie. Let him place certayne companies very priuely to come sodainly on the enemies at the passing ouer of Riuers, at the steepe or fall of mountaynes, at the narrowe straightes of woodes, at the daungerous passages of fennes and other wayes. And let him order his owne iourney so, that beinge readye and well furnyshed, he may set vpon them, either when they are eating or sleaping, or being idle, careles, vnarmed, vnshodde, their horses being scattered abroade, suspecting nothing: because in suche skirmishes his souldiours may bee boldened and encouraged. For they whiche before of a longe tyme or neuer in their life haue seene men wounded or slayne: at the first sight are so afrayde, that they quake and tremble: and being amased throught feare, haue more mynde of flying thē of fighting. Furthermore, if the enemies doe range abroade to make inuasions, let him set vpõ them after they be weary with their longe viage: and let him inuade the hindermoste, euen at vnwares. Let him also sodainly preuēt with chosen mē, such as either for forage, or for a bootie do tarie a great waye from their companie. For these thinges must be tried

ſtrſte, whiche if they haue ill ſucceſſe, it doth ſmall harme: if they proſper well, it doth muche auayle. It is the pointe of a good captayne to miniſter and breede cauſes of diſcorde amongeſt the ennemies. For no nation though it bee very little, can quickely be deſtroyed of the enemies, except it bee conſumed with priuate diſſenſions and hatred within it ſelf. For ciuile diſcorde and hatred is to haſtie and raſhe in ſeeking the deſtruction of the enemies, and to careles and vnheedy of foreſeing of their owne defence and ſafetie. And in this enterpryſe, this one thinge muſte bee foretolde, that no man ſhoulde diſpayre of the perfourminge of thoſe thinges whiche haue bene done before. But ſome man may ſaye that no man in many yeares ſpace doth enuironne an army which is pitched, in a place compaſſed about with a ditche, a rampire or trenche. I aunſweare hym thus, that if this heede were taken the ſodaine inuaſion of enemies, neither by night nor daye, coulde doe any hurte at al. The Perſians following the example of the Romaines, doe pitche their campes with diches drawen about: and for as muche as all places in a manner be ſandie, they fill ſackes, whiche they caried empty with earth very duſtie and drie (which in thoſe places is digged) and with an heape of them they doe make a rampire. Al the barbarous people hauing their cartes ioyned together in a rounde compaſſe, after the manner of a rampire, do paſſe ouer the nightes quietly, and out of daunger of them that do inuade them. And doe we feare that we can not learne thoſe thinges whiche others haue learned of vs? Theſe thinges muſt be learned by experience, and alſo by reading of ſuche thinges as before tyme were obſerued: but being left of for a great whyle, no man hath ſought them out, becauſe that as long as peace flouriſhed, the neceſſitie of warre was far out of mynde. But leaſt it may ſeeme impoſſible to renewe and reſtore the knowledge of marſhall aſſayres, being long intermitted and decayed for lacke of exerciſe, examples may ſufficiently teache vs in this point. The knowledge of warfare hath oftentymes bene forgotten with them of olde, but it hath bene ſought out againe in bookes, and confirmed by

the ſkill

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the skill and authoritie of good captaines. Scipio Aphricanus, did take the armies which were in Spayne, being oftētimes ouercome vnder dyuers generall captaines: and obseruing the order and preceptes of warfare, hee so diligently exercised thē in casting of ditches, & making trēches, that he would saye commonly that diggers muste bee defiled with myre, whiche would be washed with the bloud of their enemies. And at the lengthe with those he so fired the Numaintines, that their citie was taken, and neuer one escaped. Metellus receiued an armie in Aphrike, whiche was subdued vnder Albinus their generall captaine: whiche he did so repaire with olde preceptes and pollicie of the auncient warriours, that afterwarde they ouercame them, of whom they had bene subdued before. The Germaines also in Fraunce, destroied the legions whiche Cepio, Manilius and Sillanus led: the remnaunt wherof, whē Caius Marius had receiued, he so enstructed them with knowledge and skill of fighting, that hee destroyed in open battayle an *innumerable* multitude, not onely of Zelanders, but also of Germaines, & Hungarians For it is easier to enstructe souldiours of new vnto prowesse, then to cal againe them that be throughly afraide.

¶ What thinges should be done the same daye, that the open or set battaile should be ioyned. Chapiter. xj.

The more easie feates of warre beinge declared before, the order of the trade & knowledge of warfare, dothe moue me nowe to come to the doubtfull daie of the opē fight, and mortall daie vnto nations and people. For the whole victorie consisteth in the successe of open battayle. Then at this tyme so muche more ought the captaines to be diligent and carefull, in as muche as greater renowne is hoped for of them that be diligent, and the greater daunger dothe followe them that bee slouthefull and vnexperte: in whiche the vse of skilfulnes, the knowledge and pollicie of fighting, incontinent doth trie and rule all the matter.

In olde

In olde tyme they were wonte to bryng forth the ſouldiours to fight, refreſhed before with a ſmall portion of meate: to the intent that their meate receiued might make them the quicker: and that in the longer bickeringe they mighte not be wearied with hunger. Great care alſo muſt be had, if the enemies be preſent, whether you bryng forth the ſouldiours to the battell out of the campe, or out of a citie, leaſt whyles the armie goeth forthe thrꝛough the ſtraighte paſſage of the gates by ſmal numbꝛes, it be diſcomfited of the enemies gathered together in a readines. Therefore this muſte be prouided, that all the ſouldiours doe iſſue forth of the gates, and the armie be ſet in araye before the enemy come. If ſo be that the enemies beinge ready come to them abiding ſtill in the citie: let their iſſuing foorthe, either bee differred, or at the leaſt diſſembled: that when the aduerſaries ſhall beginne to aduaunce and boaſte them ſelues againſt thoſe whome they thinke wyll not come forth of their citie: when as they ſhall retire, and purpoſe to gette ſome bootie, and ſo ſhall breake their araie, then they beynge aſtonied, let the moſte choice and piked men ruſhe out, and foorthwith ſet vpon them at vnawares. But this muſt be obſerued that the ſouldiours be not wearied with any long iourney: leaſt you compel the horſes being wearie after their running to the opē battaile. He that ſhall fight, muſt needes be muche weakened with the trauayle and payne of the iourney. What ſhall he doe that commes blowyng & panting to the battel? This thing the oulde men of warre haue alwayes ſhunned, and in the tyme late paſſed, when as the Romayne captaines, thrꝛough ignorꝛaunce, haue not bene ware of, (ſo that I wyll ſaye no more) they haue vtterly caſt away their armie. For the ſtate or condition is vnlyke, for him that is wearie, to fight with him that is well refreſhed: he that ſweateth with him that is freſhe: he that runneth with him that ſtode ſtill.

¶ We muſt diligently ſearche out, what myndes the ſouldiours be of, when they ſhould fight.
Chapiter. xij.

The

THe very same daye that the souldiours shall fighte, it is meete to searche diligently what they thinke. For fearefulnes or confidence is perceiued by the countenaunce, talke, going, & mouing: neither ought you to be very bolde, although the young souldiours do couet to fight. For battaile is pleasaunt to suche as haue not tried it, and you may be assured that the battayle muste bee prolonged if the expert warriours be afrayed to encounter with their ennemies. Yet with the aduertisementes and exhortations of the captaine, manhode and courage encreaseth in all the army, specially if they can perceiue suche order and meanes inuented for the battayle that shall be foughten, that they may be in hope easely to attayne the victory. After this, the cowardnes and ignorraunce of the enemies must be declared. And also, if they haue beene ouercome of vs before tyme. Suche thinges also muste bee declared, by the whiche the mindes of the souldiours through hatred of the aduersaries, may be stirred to anger and indignation. For this is geuen naturally almoste to all men to be afraide, when as they come to ꝯ ioyning of battaile. But without doubt they are more fearefull, whose mindes the very sight of the enemies doth amase and trouble. But that feare is mitigated by this remedie, if before you shall fight, you doe often set your armie in araye in safe places: from whence they may vse both to bewe the ennemies and to knowe them. Sometime they maye venture some thing of good occasion, and so either chase or slea the enemies: that they maye knowe the manners and fashions of the enemies, their armoure and their horsemen. For the thynges whiche are practised by experience, are lesse fearefull.

¶ Howe a meete place should be chosen to fight in. Chapiter. xiij.

IT behoueth a good captaine to know, that the very place wherein they must fight, doth contayne a great part of the victory. Take paines therefore, that when you shall ioyne

battayle,

battaile, firſt you haue the aduauntage of the place: whiche the higher it ſhalbe when as it is taken, it is thought to bee the more commodious. For the dartes & other weapons are caſt down with greater force againſt them that be vnder: and the higher part doth driue them back that withſtande, with greater violence. He that forceth himſelfe againſt the riſing or bending of an hill, he doth take on hand a double conflicte, both to ſtriue with the place and with the enemie. But here muſt be diſcretion had, and a difference made if you hope for the victorie through your footemen, againſt the horſemen of your enemies, you muſt chooſe rough places, vneuen, and full of hilles. But if you ſeeke the victorie againſt the footemen of your enemies throughe youre horſemen, you muſte chooſe ſuche places as bee in deede ſomewhat hygher, but playne and open, encumbred neyther with woodes, nor with fennes.

¶ Howe an armie ought to be ſet in order, that in the battell it may be inuincible, or not eaſely ouercome. Chapiter. xiiij.

HE that goeth about to ſet his battell in good order, he ought to forſee three thinges: the Sunne, the duſte, & the wynde. For the ſunne before their faces, doth blemiſhe or daſell their ſight, a contrary wynde dothe turne awaye your dartes and beateth them downe, and furthereth thoſe of the enemies. The duſte gathered before the face filleth the eies and cloſeth them vp. The vnskilfull captaynes vſe to auoyde theſe incommodities euen in that very momẽt when they ſet the battaile in araie: but a wyſe and circumſpecte captaine oughte to take heede betime, & forſee things to come, leaſte a litle whyle after the daye comminge, the courſe of the ſunne being chaunged, it maye be hurteful: and leaſte a contrarie wynde dothe ryſe, euen in the tyme of the battayle. Therfore let the rankes be ſo ſet in araie that theſe may be behinde vs: and (if it may be poſſible) that they maye be full in the face of our enemies. Acies is called an armie

ſet in

set in order and in good araye, and the forefronte of it is placed directly against the enemies. This forefronte in open or sette battayle, if it be wysely sette in ordre, dothe helpe and profite very much. If they be ordred vnskilfully, if they were neuer so good warriours, yet with ill setting in araye, they are soone vanquished and ouerthrowen. The rule of setting in araye, is that in the firste rancke bee placed the experte and oulde beaten souldiours, whome in olde tyme they called Principes, that is the moste experte and valiaunt souldiours. In the seconde ranke muste bee appointed archers, being armed with curets or breastplates, and the beste souldiours with dartes or els speares, who of olde were called Hasti, that is pikemen. Euery armed man was accustomed to take streight foorthe three foote space betweene one and other. That is to saye, in the space of a myle, a thousande sixe hundreth three score and syxe, are placed and sette in lengthe, that neyther the battayle maye appeare thynne betweene the souldiours, and that there maye bee roume enough to handle their weapons. They would haue betwene one ranke and other, a space behynde their backes, sixe foote in bredthe, that they that fyghte, myghte haue roume to come forewarde and goe backewarde. For the dartes in leaping and running, are caste with a greater violence. In those twoo rankes are placed suche as are of riper age, hardie through vse and experience, and also armed with more beauie and weightie harnesse. For these as a wall within them selues can not be compelled, either to retyre, or to pursue their enemies: leaste they should disorder their rayes: but are ready to receiue the enemies marchinge forwarde, and by standing stoutly to it and fighting valiauntly, eyther to driue them backe, or put them to flyghte. The thyrde ordre or raye, is placed of the lyghtest armied menne, of archers, beynge younge men, of good casters of dartes, which in oulde tyme were called Ferentarii, that is, men armed in lyghte harnisse, readie to come quickelye to succours. The fourthe ordre muste be sette with the moste readie souldiours, which are armed with shieldes, with young archers

and

and such as fight with dartes and leaden plūmettes (which they name Martiabarbulos, all which were called light harnisled men. Therefore wee muste knowe for as muche as the twoo first orders doe stande still: the thirde order & the fourth with their dartes and arrowes, must alwayes goe for the to prouoke the enemies. If so be that they can put thē to flight, then they with the horsemen doe pursue. But if they be driuē backe by the enemies, they returne to t' firste and seconde orders againe, and amongest them euery one takes his owne place. But the firste and seconde battayle, as soone as they come to fight with dinte of swoordes, and shorte dartes, that is (as they saye commonly) to hande strokes they endure and beare of, the brunte of all the battaile. In the fifthe raye or battayle, sometyme were planted field peeces, and shooters in crossebowes, slingers both with the slyngestaffe, and with the hande. They be called Fundibulatores, whiche caste stones with staffeslinges. The slinge staffe is a staffe fours foote long: to the whiche through the myddes is bounde a slinge of leather: and being forced with both handes, dothe caste leuell the stones in manner of a great gunne. Funditores, be suche as caste stones with slynges made of flaxe, threede, or great heares, for these they doe call the better, they doe throwe stones, fetching their arme rounde about their head. They that had no shieldes, did fight in this order, whether it were with stones caste with hande, or with dartes: whom they did name Accensos, as who saye, as yet younger men and not expert, but afterwarde added and put to the legion. The sixte order, was vpholden and stayed with the moste valiaunt and couragious warriours, and suche as hadde shieldes and were fenced with al kinde of armour and weapons: whome the auncient men did name Triarios, that is to saye souldiours whiche be set alwayes in the rerewarde, whiche were the strongest men. These are alwayes placed after the laste rankes: that being rested & freshe, they might more sharpely assaile their ennemies. For if any thing had happened otherwyse thē well vnto the firste orders, al ỹ hope of recouery did hange and depende of their force & strengthe.

¶ The maner of measuring by the foote, how much space in the battell should be betweene euery man in length, or in breadeth, and howe much betwixte euerye rancke. Chap. xv.

BUt after that I haue sette forth in what maner the armye ought to to be set in arraye, nowe I wil declare ꝯ footinge and measuringe of the same. In one myles space one battell doth containe 1666. footemen: because that euery souldiour doth occuppye three foote space. If that you would ordeine sixe battelles in a myle space, there must needes be 9996. footemen. But if you woulde pitche the same nomber in three ranckes, you must take. 2000. paces. But it is bettter to make mo battelles, then to disperse them farther a sonder. But I sayde before that there ought to appeare betweene euery rancke behinde their backes sixe foote in breadth. And the fighters as they stande to take euery one a foote. And therefore if you would set in araye vi. ranckes or battelles: 42. foote in breadth, and a myle in lengthe will containe an armye of tenne Thousand men. But if you would set the same in araye deuided into three battelles. 21. foote in breadth, and two myles in length, will containe the armye of tenne Thousande meu. After the same reasō, whether there be xx. thousand or. 30. thousande footemē, according ꝯ measuring by the foote, they maye be set in araye verye easelye. Neyther is the Captaine deceyued when hee knoweth howe many armed men euerye place can containe. Finallye if the place be somewhat streight, or if the nomber be sufficient, then it is best to set them in nine battels or moe. For it is better that they fight thicke together, then seuered further, & a great distaunce one from another. For if ꝯ battell be made to slender and thinne, the ennemyes do easelye breake through, and disturbe the araye by violent inuasion, and no helpe afterward can be had. But what bandes ought to be set in the right wing, what in the lefte, and what in the middest, it is obseru[illegible]y a custome and maner, either according to their dignitye & degrees, or els for the order and fourme of the ennemyes it is altered.

¶ Of settinge the horsemen in order Chap. xvi.

After ẏ the footemen be set in battel raye, the horsemē are set in ẏ winges, so ẏ all they ẏ be in complete harnesse, & such as haue lances be ioyned to the footemē. But archers & such as are not well armed, let them roue abroade, & keepe a louke from those which are better armed, & more valiant souldiours. For the sydes be defended wt̄ horsemen, and the winges of the ennemyes must be seperate, scattered and disturbed by the quicke and light horsemeu. The Captaine ought to know against what troupes of the ennemyes, or against what ranckes of his ennemyes, hee muste place his troupe of horsemen. For I knowe not by what hid or secrete waye, yea rather by some heauenlye meanes, some do fight against some better then others: and they that had ouercome stronger men, oftentimes are ouercome of ẏ weaker. If so be that the horsemen be not equal, ẏ swiftest footemen, after the maner of the olde warriours with light Tergettes, exercised to the same purpose should be ioyned wyth them, whom they did name Expeditos velites: that is to say light and nimble for skirmishes. Which being done, though there were neuer so stoute horsemen of the ennemyes, yet cā they not be able to matche an armye so mingled and tempered. The olde Captaines inuented this remedye that they vsed to exercise certaine ponge men that ranne notablie, and did alwayes place of them betweene euerye two horsemen a footeman, with light sheldes, swordes and dartes.

¶ Of aydes or rescues which are placed behinde the battell. Chap. xvii.

But the best waye is and doth most auaile to the obtayning of the victorye, that the Captayne haue in a readines behinde the battell, the moste pyked and choise souldiours of the footemen, horsemen, with the deputyes, rulers & Tribunes attending onlye to that purpose. Some about the winges, some in the middest, that if the ennemyes

in any place do violently assault them, and striue to burste in by force, they may steppe forth sodenlye and fulfill the places, least the battell raye might be disturbed and broken: and so by shewing their manlines and courage, they might abate ꝑ stoutenes of the ennemyes. The Lacedemonians first inuẽted this waye: whom the men of Carthage haue followed: afterwarde the Romaynes in all places haue obserued the same. There is no better order or placinge of a battell then this. For the forefronte which is placed directlye against the ennemyes, ought onlye to do this, if it be possible, eyther to driue backe the ennemye, or els to discomfite him. If it be set like a wedge small before and broade behinde, or spreading open like a payre of sheares, you must needes haue behinde the battell souldiours, more then ordinarye: of which you woulde make your battell wedgewyse, or open like the sheares: if it should be ledde in and out like a sawe, it shalbe made likewyse of the superfluous souldiours. For if you beginne to put out anye souldiour set in araye, out of his place, you shall disturbe and bring all out of order. If anye troupe of the ennemyes departe from their companye, and beginne earnestlye to inuade eyther your winge or anye other parte, vnlesse you haue souldiours more then ordinarye, whom you maye set against those troupes: whether you take horsemen from the battell or els footemen: whiles you wou would defende one part, you shall endaunger the other by dispoyling of it so. If you haue not a sufficiente multitude or plentye enoughe of fightinge men, it is better to haue the battell lesse pitched, so that you place verye manye to serue for ayde and succour: for you must haue manye choise men about the middle part of the battell, pyked out of the wel armed footemen, of which you maye make your battaile wedgewyse, and so shortly breake into the armye of your ennemyes. And it is verye good to enuirone the winges of your ennemyes battell with the horsemen aboute your winges, appointed and kepte for this purpose, whiche are furnished with lance and armour, and the light armed footemen.

¶ In which place the first and chiefe Captaine ought to stande, in which the seconde, and in which the thirde, Chap. xviij.

THe Captaine which beareth the chiefest rule and auctoritye, vseth to stande betwene the horsemē and footemen on the righte syde. For this is the place in which all the battell is ruled, from whence is the streighte and free passage to the skirmish. And therfore doth he stand betwene both those cōpanies, that he may both guide with wisedome and counsell, & also exhorte with his auctoritye & estimation, as well the horsemen as footemen to fight. He with ẏ horsemen which are aboue the ordinarye nomber, and the lighte footemen mingled with them, must cōpasse the left winge of the ennemyes which standes against the same, & alwayes assault & presse on them beehinde their backes. The seconde Captaine is set in the middle battell of the footemen, which may staye & strengthen ẏ same. This Captaine must haue wᵗ him the most valiant & wel armed footemen, of them that be ouerplus. Of the which eyther he himselfe maye make his battel wedgewyse, and burst the forefront of the ennemyes: or els if the ennemyes shall make theirs wedgewyse, he may make his battell open like the sheares, that he maye meete & encounter with the ennemyes wedge. In the lefte syde of ẏ armye ẏ third Captaine ought to be very valiant in armes, wyse and cyrcumspect: because the left syde is more in daunger, & as it were stands in the battaile maymed and weake. Therefore he must haue aboute him good horsemen, whiche are aboue the ordinary nomber, & the most nimble footemē, by the which he maye alway enlarge the lefte winge, least it should be cōpassed about of the ennemyes. But the shoute or crye (which they do call Barrithum) muste not be raysed vp before that both the battelles be ioyned. For it is the pointe of such as be vnskilfull, and cowards to crye aloude a great waye of, when as the ennemyes are made more afrayde, if with the dint of weapons come together the hedious shoute and crye.

But

But you muſt alwayes caſte and ſtudye to ſet your battaile in arraye before your ennemyes: becauſe you maye at your owne will and pleaſure do that, which you thincke to be fitte and profitable vnto your ſelfe, when no mã doth let or withſtande: by this meanes alſo you ſhall more encourage and bouldē your ſouldiours, and diſcourage your ennemyes.

For they are moſte couragious, whiche dare prouoke and chalenge their ennemyes. And the ennemyes do beginne to feare, when they ſee the battell ſet in order and arraye: and this commonlye alſo commeth hereof, that you beinge now ſet in order and well prepared, maye preuente and aſſaulte your enemyes, ordering themſelues & tremblinge for feare. For it is one part of the victorye to diſturbe the ennemye before you fight.

¶ Wyth what meanes the ballantnes and deceytes of the ennemyes in the battell, maye be withſtande and preuented. Chap. xix.

BEſydes the priuye onſettes & ſodaine inuaſions vppon occaſiō, which ỳ Captaine of an army doth neuer omit: ſomtime it is good to ſet vpon the ennemyes, whē they are wearyed with long iourneyes, diſperſed through paſſing ouer of ryuers, letted with fennes or mariſſes, trauailinge in the toppes of mountaynes, ſcattered in the plaine fieldes, and ſleaping quietlye in their abyding places. For when the ennemye is hindred or troubled with other buſines, he maye be ſlaine before that he can prepare himſelfe. If ſo be that ỳ aduerſaryes be ware and circumſpect, and that there is no opportunitye of lying in waite: then with like choiſe and aduauntage, we muſt fight hande to hand with our ennemyes, which knowe and ſee all as well as wee. For this cauſe the ſkill and knowledge of warre doth no leſſe helpe them that be inſtructed, in this open fight, then in the priuye deceiptes and lyinge in waite. But aboue all thinges you muſte take heede, leaſt vppon the left winge (whiche more commonlye doth chaunce) or els on the righte (whiche happeneth verye

seldome) your souldiours be compassed aboute of the multitude of the ennemyes, of troupes of horsemē, rouing abrode whom they call Grumos. Which thinge if it shall chaūce, one helpe and remedye is: that you turne your winge (as it were the inside outward) and make it rounde, because that they being turned, may defend the backes of their fellowes. But in that corner where most perill and daunger is, muste be placed the moste valiante men: for there the greater violence and brunte is wont to be. Likewyse against the araye of the ennemyes comming wedgewyse, you may resist with certaine and ordinarye meanes. Cuneus, is called a companye of footemen, which ioyned with the forebattell goeth in like order small before & broade behinde, and so doth inuade and breake the arayes of the aduersaryes: for so muche as ꝑ dartes be caste of a great manye into one place. The whiche thinge the souldiours do name Caput Porcinum, the swynes heade: against the whiche that order and raye is appointed, which is called Forfex, opening like a payre of sheares. For this battell is made of wel chosen souldiours, set thicke together, in forme and likenes of the letter V: and doth receyue the wedge or sharpe battell of the ennemyes: and encloseth it on both sydes, which being done, it cannot pearce throughe the forebattel. Also Serra, is called a companye which beinge appointed of the stoute and valiant souldiours fighteth in battaile, sometime marchinge forwarde, sometime recoylinge as a sawe goeth when it is drawen, and is placed before the forefront directly against their ennemyes, that the forebattell disordered, may be brought into araye againe. But Globus is called a companye of men of warre, which beinge seperate from their owne battell, doth inuade the ennemyes with an vncertaine and sodaine comming vpon them: against the which is sent another globe or troupe of horsemen, of a greater nomber of people & more valiante. You must also marke wel that a litle before the time, wherin the battell is ioyned, in no wyse you do alter your rayes, or remoue anye companyes from their owne places vnto others. For straight wayes doth ryse discorde and confusion

of

of all thinges, and the ennemye doth soner set vppon them beinge vnprepared and altogether disordered.

¶ How many kindes of wayes an open or set battell is ioyned, and howe also that armye which is lesse in nomber and strength, maye obtayne the victorye.

Chap. xx.

There be seuen kindes of open fighting, when the banners displayed in defiance on both partes, do ioyne together in fight. One kinde of fight is with a long forefront, and a foure cornered armye: as now a dayes alwayes almost they vse to fight: but this kinde of fight, they that be skilfull and expert in armes, do not iudge to be best: because that when the battell is stretched forthe in lengthe, an euen plaine grounde is not alwayes in the waye nighe hand and readye, and if sometime there be anye emptye or hollowe place, or bowing or crouking in the middle part, in that part oftentimes the foreranke is broken. Moreouer if the ennemye do passe you in multitude, hee doth compasse eyther the righte or the lefte winge on the sydes: in the which there is great daunger, except you haue aboue your ordinarye nomber, which maye staye and put backe the ennemye. He onlye ought to ioyne battell after this sort, which hath both mo in nomber, and more valiant fighting men: that he maye compasse his ennemye of both the winges, and enclose him as it were within his owne armye. The seconde kinde of fighte is common, which is better then anye other. In which if you wyll appointe a fewe stoute and couragious men in a place conueniente, although you be troubled with multitude and manhoode of your ennemyes: yet maye you easelye winne the victorye. The maner of this fight is that when the battelles set in araye do ioyne together, then shall you seperate the lefte winge a good waye of, from the righte winge of your aduersarye, that no dartes or arrowes maye come as farre as it.

But you shall ioyne your right wing to his left winge: and there first beginne you the battaile: so that you do assaulte & compasse about the left syde of it, to ẏ which you shall ioyne your selfe, with the best footemen and most tryed horsemen: and that you maye come to the backes of the ennemyes, by thrusting them out of place and ouerrunning them. If so be that you once beginne to make your ennemyes to recoile: and geue backe frō thence: if your owne men do come on w̄ all, you shal obtaine most certaine victorye: and that part of your armye which you remoued frō your ennemye, shal remayne in safety. But in this kinde of fighting the battel is ordered after the similitude of ẏ letter A. or els the Carpenters squyre. If so be ẏ the aduersary do the same before you: you shal gather togither vnto your left winge, ẏ extraordinarye souldiours, as well horsemē as footemen: which before I sayde must be set behinde the battaile: and so shall you withstand your aduersarye with great force & strength, that you be not driuen backe with crafte and pollicye. The thirde kind of fight is like vnto the seconde, but in this point it is the worser: because you beginne with your left winge, to fight with your ennemyes right winge. For the inuasion is very weake, & they that fight in the left winge with much difficultye do assault their ennemyes openlye. The which I will more plainelye declare. If you shall at anye time haue your left winge a good deale the stronger, then ioyne togither the most valiant horsemen and footemen: and in ẏ conflicte bende ẏ same first to the right winge of the ennemyes, and as much as is possible, make hast to driue backe and cōpasse the right syde of your aduersarye. But seperate the other parte of your armye in which you knowe that you haue the worst fighting men, a good waye of from his left wing, that it maye not be inuaded with swordes, or that the dartes come vnto it. In this kinde of fight you must take heede least your crosse battel be beaten throughe w̄ the wedge or sharpe battell of your ennemyes. But by this way in one case ye shal fight profitablye, if your aduersaryes righte winge be weaker, and your lefte winge a great deale the stronger. The

fourth

C 24631

fourth kinde of fight is such: when as you haue set your battell in arraye, foure or fyue hundred paces before they come to the ennemye, sodenly when he lookes for no suche thinge, you must couragiously set forward both your winges: that you maye on both his winges put the ennemye to flight, and so soner attaine ỳ victorye. But this kinde of fight although it do quickely ouercome, if it shall set forth verye expert and valiant souldiours, yet it is full of daunger, because hee that fighteth in such wyse is constrayned to leaue his middle battaile naked, and to deuide his armye into two partes. And if the ennemye be not ouercome at the first brunte, he hath afterwarde occasion, whereby he may both set vppon the winges deuided, and the middle battel also left withoute ayde & succour. The fifte kinde of fight is like to the fourth. But it hath this one thinge more, for because it doth set lighte armed men and archers before the first battell: that they may resist the inuasion of ennemyes, and let them for breaking in: for so doth hee set vppon the left winge of the ennemye wyth his right wing, and with his owne left wing the right wing of the ennemye. If so be that he canne put the ennemyes to flight, he doth straight way winne the fielde: if not, the middle battaile is in no ieopardie, because it is defended of the light armed men and archers. The sixt kinde of fight is the best of all, and in a maner like the second: which they do vse that dispayre or mistrust of the nomber of theyr owne souldiours, and also of their manhoode. And if they do sette them well in araye and good order, althoughe it be with a small nomber, they do alwayes get the victorye. For when as the battell set in araye doth approche and come to thennemyes, ioyne you your righte winge vnto the lefte winge of thennemyes, and with the most tryed horsemen and swiftest footemen, there begin to fight. But remoue and take awaye the other syde of the armye, a great waye from the right syde of your ennemye, and stretch it out a length as it were a spitte or a darte. For if you shall beginne to beate the lefte part of his armye, both of the sydes and behind, without doubt you shall put them to flighte. But thaduersarye cannot succour

his

his ẏ be in daunger, neither with his right winge, noꝛ ẇ his middle battell: because your battell is stretched foꝛth & reacheth it selfe al in length, after the fashiõ & similitude of the letter .I. & goeth a great way of frõ thẽnemyes: ẇ the which kinde many times they bicker in their byages. The .7. kinde of fight is, which thꝛough ẏ helpe & benefit of the place, doth helpe him ẏ doth fight. In this kinde also you may ẅstand & match wyth your aduersary, both wyth a small nomber, & also with lesse valiant souldiours, if you haue on one syde an hill, oꝛ ẏ sea, oꝛ a ryuer, oꝛ a lake, oꝛ a Cittye, oꝛ fennes, oꝛ rockes & stiepe downe places: by ẏ which the ennemyes cannot come vnto, & set ẏ residue of your armie in straight battel raye. But in ẏ winge which hath no defence, you must set al your hoꝛsemen & Gũners. Then with moꝛe saketye you shal encounter ẇ the ennemye, after your owne will & pleasure: because of one partẏ nature of the place doth defende you, of ẏ other part almost a double strẽgth of hoꝛsemẽ is set. Notwithstãding this thing ought to be obserued, which is most necessary: ẏ whether you would fight, your right winge ẇ his left wing, there set the valiant men: oꝛ whether your left with his right wing, there place ẏ stoutest men: oꝛ whether you would make a wedge oꝛ sharpe battell in the middest, by the which you might bꝛeake ẏ battel rayes of your enemies: in the same wedge you must oꝛdaine & set the most experte & cunning souldiours. Foꝛ the victoꝛy is wont to be atchieued by a few. The matter doth altogether rest in this, that by a wyse and discreete Captaine, chosen men be set in those places, which by skill are thought most fit and commmodious.

¶ That a waye should be geuen to the ennemyes to depart, that they may moꝛe easelye be destroyed in flyinge awaye. Chap. xxi.

MAnye men being ignoꝛante of the feates of warre, do thincke they maye haue a greater victoꝛye if they can compasse the aduersaryes eyther ẇ straitnes of places, oꝛ ẇ multitude of armed mẽ: ẏ they can finde no way to depart oꝛ flie away. But they which are so enclosed be moꝛe encouraged & boldned thꝛough desperatiõ: & when ther is no

hope

hope at al, feare doth cõstraine them to fighte. He doth couet willingly to die w̃ company, which knoweth most certenly ẏ he must needes dye. Therfore is the saying of Scipio cõmended, which sayd, ẏ the way wherby the ennemies might flie should not be fortifyed. For if a passage to depart away be once opened, as sone as ẏ minds of al do agre to rũne away: they are slaine & murdered like beasts, neither is there any daũger to them ẏ pursue, when as they ẏ be ouercome haue turned their weapons into flighte, with the which they mighte haue bene defended. After this sort ẏ greater ẏ an armye is, so much more easy a great nomber is ouerthrowẽ, for there is no nõber to be required, wher the hart of ẏ souldiers once sore afraied & discouraged, doth not so much couet to shun ẏ weapons of the ennemyes, as their faces. But being enclosed, though few in nõber, & weake in power: yet in this same point they be equal to their ennemyes, for as much as being in despayre, they knowe that they hoping for no escape, muste needes fight. For this only hope haue they ẏ be desperate, to loke for no saftye or life at all.

¶ After what maner ye may depart frõ the ennemye, if you do not like of your purposed battel. Chap. xxii.

ALl thinges beinge orderlye declared & made plaine, which the trade of warre hath by experience & knowledge obserued: one thing remayneth to declare, after what maner we may retyre frõ the ennemies. For they ẏ be expert in the knowledge of warre & in examples, do testifye, ẏ no where any greater daũger doth appeare. For be ẏ before the ioyninge together doth recoyle, doth both take awaye good hope frõ his owne armye, & doth encourage and bolden the ennemyes. But forasmuch as this thing doth of necessity happen oftentimes, we must declare by what meanes the same may be done safely. First of all that your owne men do not knowe that therefore you departe, because you shunne to ioyne battel: but ẏ they may be brought in beleue that they be called backe by some pollicye, for this intente ẏ the ennemies may be allured vnto a more cõuenient place, ẏ

be may

may be the more easelye vanquished: or els if the ennemyes should pursue after them, priuye waytes might be layed the better. For it must needes be that they wil be ready to flye, which perceyue theyr owne Captaine to despayre. This also is to be auoyded, that the ennemyes in no wyse perceyue of your departure away, and so forthwith runne hastelye vppõ you. Therefore many haue set their horsemen before their footemen: to the ende that they running to and fro, shoulde not suffer the ennemyes to see when the footemen departed. Also they withdrewe euery rancke or batteile particularly, beginninge at the first and called them backewarde. The other remayninge still in their order and place: which afterwarde by little and little retyringe, they ioyned vnto them which they had withdrawen. First after the wayes were searched, some did retyre with the armye by night: to thintent that whẽ the daye came, the ennemyes could not ouertake them that went before. Moreouer the lighte harnessed men were sente before to the hilles, by the which the armye might sodainlye be called againe withoute daunger: and if the ennemyes woulde followe on, they were discomfited of the light harnessed men, which gotte the place before them, with ỹ horsemẽ also ioyned to them. For nothing is thought more daungerous, then if they whiche lye in the ambushe should meete them that pursue them, vnaduisedly or before they haue prepared themselues. This is the time wherein ambushmentes or trappes conuenientlye are layed, because there is greater boldnes and lesse care against them that are in flying. For of necessity, of greater securitye and lesse carefulnes ensueth greater perill and daunger. Ennemies are wont to come sodainlye vppon such as are vnprepared, or takinge their meate, wearye in theyr iourneye, feedinge their horses, and suspectinge no suche thing at all. Which thinge both we our selues must avoyde, and in such maner of occasions we must annoye our ennemye. For neyther manhoode, nor yet the nomber of men can helpe suche as be oppressed by such a chaunce: for as muche as he that in battaile is ouercome in open fight, although pollicy and cunning doth there

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C 24631

auayle verye muche, yet he may accuse or alledge ill fortune for his defence: but he that hath fallē into ꝑsodaine comming on of the ennemyes, and theyr ambushes layed for them: can alledge nothinge to excuse his falte: because he mighte haue auoyded it, and knowen before by scoutes and spyes meete for the purpose. Whensoeuer any armye or companye doth retyre, this subtiltye is commonlye vsed. A fewe horsemen do followe after with a straight iourney: a stronge power is secretely sent by other places or wayes: assone as the horsemen come to the ennemyes, they trye and assay lightly what they can do and so depart The ennemye thinketh streight ꝑ whatsoeuer lying in wayte had beene, that is gone and past, and so waxeth careless & negligent. then that power which was appointed by a secrete waye, comminge on them sodenlye, doth oppresse them at vnwares. Manye when they departe awaye from the ennemye, if they goe throughe anye woodes, do preuent and take rockes or straight places: least their ennemyes shoulde there lye in wayte for them. And agayne they stoppe the waye behinde theym with trees cutte downe, which they call Compedes, that is to saye fetters or gyues, to the entente they maye let their ennemyes in pursuing them: and in such wayes there is occasion for both the partyes, as well the one as the other to lye in waite. For he that goeth before, doth leaue ambushmentes as it were behinde him in valleys meete for the purpose, or mountaynes full of woodes, into the which when the ennemyes shal fall, he returneth quickely and helpeth his owne companye. But he that followeth by backe wayes, doth sende light harnessed men a good waye before: and gettinge before, doth kepe his ennemye from passing ouer, to the ende that he may encclose him beinge deceyued both behinde and before. And as wel he that goeth before maye returne backe, as also he that followeth (thoughe it be farre of) may sodainlye come vppō them that are a sleaye in the night, by some deceipte or pollicye. In the passinge ouer of ryuers, he that goeth before, doth assaye to oppresse that part which is sent before to passe ouer, whiles the residue are scattered in the ryuer. But hee

that

that followeth in hast, doth trouble those ẏ coulde not passe ouer before.

¶ Of Camelles and men of armes vpon barded horses. Chap. xxiii.

SOme Nations haue vsed in times paste, to bringe forth Camelles in the forebattell: as the people called Vrciliani, in Affricke & they that be called Macetes, at this daye do bring forth the same. But this kinde of beastes: being apt for sandye and drye places, and to abyde thirst, is reported to go ẏ streight wayes without wãdring, yea though they be troubled with dust through the wynde. But sauinge for the strangenesse, if it be put awaye from the thinges that it hath bene accustomed with, it is of no force in the warre. The barded horsemen for the munitiõ of armour which they beare, are in deede safe from woundes. But for the hinderance and waightines of armour, it is an easye thing to take them: and many times they be in danger to ginnes and snares: they be better against footemen scattered abroade then against horsemen in fight: neuertheless being set eyther before the Legions, or els ioyned with the Legionaryes, what time as they ioyne together in fight, that is to saye, hande to hande: oftentimes they breake and inuade the forebattell of the ennemyes.

¶ After what maner we may withstande Charlottes armed with hookes, and also Elephantes in the battell. Chap. xxiiii.

KInge Antiochus and kinge Mithridates, had Charlottes in the warre armed with hookes. Which as at the first brought greate feare in the battell, so afterward they were laught to scorne: for the armed Charlottes doth hardlye finde a plaine and euen fielde at all tymes: and with a small let it is holden backe, & one horse being vexed or wounded, it is disappointed. But these things haue perished

and

and vecayed, chiefely through the pollicye of the Romayne ſouldiours. After they came to fight, the Romaines ſodenly throw out the fieldes did caſt caltroppes: on ꝑ which when as ꝑ Chariottes fell in their running, they were deſtroyed: this ſame Tribulus or caltroppe is, an inſtrumēt of defence faſtened together w̄ .iiii. yron pinnes: ꝑ which whatſoeuer waye you will caſt it, doth ſtande with three corners or pickes, and with the fourth ſtanding vp right is verye daungerous. The Elephantes by reaſon of ꝑ greatnes of theyr bodyes, the fearefulnes of theyr cry or braying, the ſtrangenes of their forme and ſhape, do trouble both men & horſes in the battayles. Kinge Pyrrhus brought theſe firſt againſt the Romaynes in Lucania. Afterward Hanniball in Affricke, kinge Antiochus in the Eaſt parte, Iugurtha in Numidia, had many of them, againſt the which they inuented ſondrye kinds of armour and weapons to withſtand them. For a certaine Centurion in Lucania, w̄ a ſworde cut away frō one of them ꝑ hand or long ſnoute (which they call Promniſtidē) and two barded horſes were ioyned to the Chariottes: vpon whom ſuch as were called Cibanarij ſitting, did directe againſt the Elephantes longe ſpeares called Sariſſas, that is to ſay, the longeſt poles they could get: for being fenced with yron armour, neither were they hurt of the Archers (which the beaſtes did carrye) & they ſhunned the violence of the Elephantes throughe the ſwiftnes of the horſes. Some other haue ſent out againſt the Elephants, ſouldiours in complet armour: ſo that in their armes and helmettes or ſhoulders, were ſette great sharpe prickes of yron, leaſt the Elephant with his hande or longe ſnoute, maye laye holde of the man that came to fighte againſt him. Yet the olde men of warre chiefelye appointed lighte harneſſed men called Velites againſt the Elephantes. Velites, were yonge men wyth lighte armoure, of a luſtye and liuelye bodye, whiche ſhotte and caſt dartes verye well on horſebacke. Theſe when they ranne beſydes the Elephantes, wyth broade ſpeares and greater Dartes, then they were wonte, killed the beaſtes: but when bardines and boldnes grewe, afterwarde

maye

manye souldiours together cast al at once their dartes, that is to saye, they shotte against the Elephantes & so wounded them. Yet this also they vsed to do, ỳ slingers wt slingstaues & round stones leuelled out of their slinges, did ouerthrow, and kill the men of Inde which ruled the Elephantes with ỳ towers also: and there was no safer waye to destroye them inuented then this. Moreouer the souldiours made roume for the comminge of the beastes, where they might breake into the battell: whiche when as they came so farre as the middest of the hoast, the troupes of armed men compassed them about on euerye syde, and toke both the beast and their rulers not hurte nor wounded. It is verye good also to set certaine field peeces behinde the forebattel of a greater bignes, then the residue layed vppon cartes wyth two horses or Mules, for suche do shoote leuell their pellets farther and wt greater violence: and when the Elephantes come within ỳ reache of the darte, the beasts are stricken through with the shotte of the Gunners. Notwithstanding the yron is thrust harder and more surelye into them, because in great bodyes are made greater woundes. Wee haue rehersed manye examples and engines against the Elephantes, to the intente that if at anye time necessitye shall requyre, it maye be knowen what defence may be had agaynst so huge and terrible beastes.

¶ What ought to be done if either part, or the whole armye doth flye. Chap. xxv.

We must knowe, if one parte of the armye hath ouercome, & another doth flye, we should not yet dispayre: when as in such an extremitye ỳ constancy of the Captayne maye get the whole victorye to himselfe. This thing hath happened in very manye warres: and such haue beene accompted to haue the vpperhande, as haue not dispayred. For in such like case, he is thought to be more valiaunt, whō aduersitye doth not discourage. Therefore let him first take the spoyles of the enemyes slaine, and as they do terme it,

let him

let him gather the field, let him first reioyce and triumph w a shoute and the trumpettes. By this boldnes and confidēce he shall make the ennemyes afrayde: so shall he encrease the courage of his owne men, and go away as though he were a conqueroure. If so be that by any chaunce all the armye be discomfited in the battell with great losse of men, yet manye haue had good lucke in recouering and rescuing that which was lost, and therfore such remedye in the like distresse must be soughte. Therefore a wyse and cyrcumspect Captayne, ought in open or set battel, to fight so aduisedly and warely, that if any thing should happē otherwyse then wel, through mutability of warres, and mans fraile condition, he might deliuer him & his ouercome souldiours without greate losse or displeasure. For if hilles be nighe, if anye defence be behinde their backes: if, although the other go away, all the most valiant stande stoutely to it, they shall saue themselues and their owne companye. Oftentimes an armye now discomfited, if it can recouer strength againe, doth slea them & pursue, dispersed & scattered abroad out of order. For they which reioyce and aduaunce themselues, are neuer in more daunger, then when from sodaine fiercenes & boldnes they are chaunged into sodaine feare. But what successe soeuer follow, they must be gathered together that remayne aliue, and must be encouraged with meete exhortations, and cherished & comforted by repayring of their armour. Then must there be newe choice had of freshe souldiours, and new aydes must be sought for: and then a freshe assault & inuasion must be made vpon the conquerours if occasion serue, by some priuye lying in waite: for this is verye good & profitable: and so boldnes may be recouered againe. Neyther cā opportunity want at such tymes: because mens mindes are commonlye puft vp with pride, through good lucke and prosperous successe, & then are lesse cyrcumspect & fearefull. If any man thincke this to be ỳ greatest misfortune ỳ can be, let him cōsider & remember, that they cōmonly, which get the victory, haue the worse alwayes in the beginninge of the battell.

IN all maner of battelles, the state or condition of the settinge forth is suche, that whatsoeuer is profitable to you, is hurtfull vnto the aduersarye: that whiche doth helpe him, is alwayes hurtfull vnto you. Therefore wee neuer ought to do or dissemble anye thinge after his will and pleasure: but to do that only which we iudge to be profitable vnto our selues: for you do against your selfe, if you followe ꝑ which he hath done for him selfe. Againe, whatsoeuer you haue attempted for your selfe, it will be hurtfull to him if he minde to imitate it. In time of warre, he that in posting or conueyinge of his carriages is dilligent: and taketh greate paynes in exercisinge his souldiours: shall incurre lesse perill and daunger. A souldiour must neuer be broughte forth into the battell, before you trye and proue what he can doe. It is better to subdue the ennemye throughe scarcitye and lacke of necessary thinges, by sodaine inuasions, by terrour and feare, then wyth open battel: In which fortune cõmonlye beareth more swaye, then manhoode and prowesse. No coũselles are better then those, which the ennemy knoweth not before you accomplishe them.

Occasion and opportunitye is commonly more profitable in warre, then valiantnes.

It is very good to entice & receiue suche as flye from their Captaynes, if they do it faythfullye and dissemble not: because suche as forsake their owne Captaynes, and go to the contrarye partes, do discourage the aduersarye more then they that be slaine.

It is better to kepe some in readines behind ꝑ forebattelles for succours, then to haue ꝑ souldiours scattered abroade.

He is hardly ouercome, which cã truly iudge of his owne power, and also of his ennemyes power.

Manhoode doth more auaile then multitude of men.

The opportunitye of place doth oftentimes profite more thẽ manhoode.

Nature bringeth forth fewe valiaunte men, but dilligence doth make many by good enstruction and discipline.

An armye with labour doth profite and proceede, with idlenes it doth decaye.

Neuer

Neuer bringe forthe a souldiour into the fielde, excepte thou perceiue that he hoopeth for the victorye.
Sodaine thinges do make ennemyes afrayde, thinges common and stale are nothing set by.

He ỳ rashlye pursueth the ennemyes when his owne men are oute of araye, will soone geue to the ennemye ỳ victorye which he had gotten.

He that doth not prepare graine and other necessaryes, is ouercome without any dent of swoord.

He that hath more store of mẽ & also more valiant, let him fight with the forefront foure square: which is the first way of settynge an armye in araye before described.

He that thinketh himselfe vnequally matched with his ennemye, let him with his righte winge driue backe the lefte wing of the ennemye: which is the second waye.
He that knoweth himselfe to haue his left winge, the strongest and best furnished: let him set vpon the righte winge of the ennemye: which is the thirde waye.

He ỳ hath the most expert & cunning souldiours, must set on both the wings of his ennemyes battell together: which is the fourth waye.

He that is Captaine of the lighte armed men, let him inuade both ỳ winges of the ennemye, placing ỳ light harnessed mẽ which are quicke & ready, before the forefront: which is the fifte waye.

He that hath not sure trust, neither in ỳ nomber of his mẽ, nor in their manhoode: if he purpose to fighte, let him driue backe the left wing of the ennemyes, with them of his right wing: the residue of his men being stretched in length after the forme of a spit or broche: which is the vi. way.

He ỳ knoweth himselfe to haue the fewer & weaker men after the seuenth waye, oughte to haue of one syde, either a mount, or a Cittye, or the Sea, or a riuer, or els some other succour or safegarde.

He ỳ hath most confidence in his horsemẽ, let him seeke ỳ higher places, & do his chiefe feates of armes by ỳ horsemẽ.

He that hath most trust in his foote armyes: let him get ỳ higher places for the footemen, & accomplishe his enterprise

chiefelye by them. When a spye of the enemyes doth go to and fro in ỹ campe verye priuily, let euery man be commaũded in the day time to resort to his pauilion, & straight waye the spyes is apprehended.

When you shall know that your counsell and purpose is bewrayed to the ennemyes: then you muste chaunge your intent and purpose herein.

That which chiefely ought to be brought to passe, intreat and deliberate with manye: but that which you do intende to do herein, communicate with verye fewe and those moste trustye & faythfull, or rather deliberate and consult of them wyth your owne selfe and no mo.

Punishment and feare do amende souldiours abyding in one certayne place: in a vyage sojourneye, hope and rewardes do make them better.

Good Captaynes do neuer fight in open or set battell, but vppon good occasion, or very great necessitye.

It is a good deuise rather to oppresse the ennemye wyth hunger and famine, then wyth the swoorde.

As touchinge an armye of horsemen, there be manye rules and precepts: but seing that this part of warrefare hath profited and proceded through vse and exercise, through the kinde of armour, and ỹ worthines of horses: I suppose that nothinge is to be gathered out of bookes, when as this present instruction may be sufficient.

Let not the ennemyes knowe after what maner you intende to fight, least they go about to preuent and withstand ỹ same by one helpe or other.

I haue orderly declared thinges, O valiaunt and mighty Emperour, whiche being approued, diuers & sundry times, through faithfull and diligent experience, the moste worthy authours haue set foorth and published: that vnto the cunning of shooting, which in your grace the Persian doth praise and maruayle at: vnto the knowledge and comelines of riding of horses, whiche the people of Hungarie and Scithia, called Hunni, & Alani, would gladly imitate if they could: and to the swiftenes of running, wherein the Saracine, and

C 24631

man of Inde, can not matche with you: to the exercising of handling the weapons, & vsing al kinde of artillerie, wherin the captaines and maisters of the fielde are glad, that they knewe some good examples to followe: (vnto all these thinges I saye) a rule or trade howe to fighte in battayle, yea, rather pollicie howe to gette the victorie, muste bee annexed: that as much as you can through puissance and marueilous good ordringe of your common wealth, you may shewe the office and performe the dutie, bothe of an Emperour and a Souldiour.

The fourth booke of Flauius Vegetius Renatus of the feates of warre.

The Prologue.

Building of cities, was the thing that in the beginning did separate and deuide the homelye and rude lyfe of men, from the societie and companie of dumme creatures & wilde beastes. The whiche cities vpon their common vtilitie and profite haue the name of publike weales. Therefore most mightie nations and princes of famous memory haue thought there could be no greater renowme, then either to builde newe cities or els amplifying those whiche haue bene builded by others, to call them after their owne name. Wherein your maiestie doth obtayne the chiefest prayse of al other. For whereas other princes haue builded one citie a piece, or fewe moe: Your grace with continuall labour hath erected suche a nũber, that they may seeme to be builded, not so muche by mans hand, as by the will and working of God. So you excell all other Emperours in happines of estate, in temperance, in chastnes of life, in examples to bee followed, and in the great loue that you beare towardes learning. We see with our eies the goodnes of your gouernemẽt, and also of your good minde. The which thinges, both they whiche haue gone before vs, did wyshe to enioye, and they whicht are yet to come, desire to cõtinue for euer. By reason wherof we doe reioyce that so great a iewell is geuen to all the worlde, as either the minde of man could desire, or the bountifulnes of God could geue. And as for the building vp and repairing of walles howe it hath gone forewarde, through the good orders deuised by your grace, the citie of Rome can shewe. Whiche by defending the tower Capitolium, hath saued the citizẽs liues, that afterward it might with greater glory obtayne the dominion of all the worlde. Therefore for the accomplishing of this worke, taken in hande at the commaundemen of your maiestie, I wyll bringe into order the deuises of sundry writers, by the whiche both our owne cities may be defended, and the cities of our enemies ouerthrowen: neither shall it forthinke me of my labour, because these thinges in time to come may be profitable to all men.

C 24631

That cities ought to be fenced

either vvith handvvorke, or nature, or bothe.

The first Chapter.

CIties and caſtels are fenced, either by nature, or with hande, or els with both, which is rekened the ſtronger. By nature: as with the heighte or craggines of the place with the ſea, with fennes, or with riuers. By hande, as with ditches and walles. In that benefite and helpe of nature, the moſte ſafetie conſiſteth in ẏ wittines and counſell of the chooſer: in the playne grounde, full neceſſary is the diligent trauel of the builder. And we ſee ſome very auncient cities ſo builded in playne & open fieldes, that although the helpe of ſituation did faile, yet with cunning and workemanſhip they were made inuincible.

¶ That wales ſhould not be made ſtreight but with many coignes. Chapiter.ij.

MEn in times paſt drewe not ẏ circuite of their walles ſtreight leſt they might be apt to receaue the ſtrokes of the battering ramme. But laying the foundation they encloſed their cities with many wyndinges & turnings in and out, and in the very corners did builde many towers. For this cauſe, that if the enemy would ſet ladders or other engines vnto a wall builded after ſuche order, hee might bee beaten downe, not onely before but alſo on the ſides, and in a manner behinde, as encloſed in a lane or bought.

¶ After what ſorte earth may be heaped vp and ioyned to a wall, ſo that it ſhall neuer be beaten downe. Cap.iij.

A Wall which can neuer be thrown down is made after this maner. Make two walles on the towne ſide of ẏ ditche a good way diſtant a ſunder, then caſte betweene them that earthe whiche yowe throwe out of the ditche, and beate it downe harde with beetels and weighty inſtrumentes: ſo that, that whiche is firſte and nexte to the

vtmoste stonewall, be somewhat lower then the stonewall it selfe, and the seconde a good deale lower then the firste: that from the citie men may goe vp easely to the battlementes, as in the rising of an hil, or after the māner of steiars. A wal thus strengthened with earthe, can neuer be beaten downe with any ramme, and though the stones should chaūce to be throwen downe, yet the greate heape of earthe that is rammed betwene the walles, doth withstande them, that geue thassaulte, as well as any wall.

¶ Of portcluses, and howe gates may be safe from burning. Chapter. iiij.

MOreouer, wee must take heede least the gates be burned with fier, for the whiche cause they should be couered with leather and yron. But that is more profitable whiche in the olde time hath beene inuented, that before the gate there should be a fortresse, in the entring whereof is a perculles, hanging with ynges of Iron and ropes: that if the enemies should enter in, the same being let down, they might bee enclosed and destroyed. And the wall aboue the gate, must so be made with holes that wee maye power downe water and quenche the fier vnderneath.

¶ Of making ditches. Chapter. v.

BVt the ditches before the cities muste bee made verye deepe, and very broade: that they maye not easely bee made euen, and filled of the besiegers. And that the water running ouer, may stoppe the vndermining of the enemie. For twoo manner of wayes is vndermining letted, either with the depenes of the ditche, or ouerflowyng.

¶ Howe to kepe them whiche stande on the wall harmeles from the arrowes of the enemies. Chapter. vj.

It is

C 24631

It is to be feared sometyme, least that many archers dyp-uing the defenders downe, maye sodenlye take the wall. Therefore it shall bee good to haue in the citie complette harnis and store of shieldes. Moreouer, mantils, clokes, and heareclothes, maye bee hanged before them, and so receyue the shotte of arrowes: for the heades of the arrowes cannot easelye pearse throughe that whiche yeldeth and waueth to and fro. There is also a remedy founde: to make hurdles of woode, called Metellæ, and to fille them with stones, and to set them betwene twoo battlementes so cunningly, that if the ennemies should clyme vp by ladders and touche anye parte of them, the stones may turne vpon their heades.

¶ By what meanes it ought to be forseene that they that are besieged be not famished. Chapiter. vij.

There be many kyndes of defending and assaultinge of cities, whiche wee wyll speake of in places conueniēt. Nowe wee must knowe that there be twoo kyndes of besieging. One when the enemy appointing his men in dew places, doth with continuall assaultes assaile the besieged. The other, when as he kepeth them from water, or trusteth that they will yelde through famishement, hauing stopped all victualles from comming to them. For by this deuise hee him selfe being quiet and safe, doth wearie his enemies. Against whiche chaunces, the townes men vpon small suspicion of their enemies, ought moste diligently to place within the walles all kynde of foode, whereby man may lyue: to the entent that they them selues may haue aboundaunce, & their enemies through nede compelled to rayse their siege. And not onely porcke or bakon, but also al kinde of flesshe, ỳ may be preserued close, ought to bee layde vp, that through the helpe of flesshe graine may suffice. And pulleyn likewyse in a citie may be kepte without charge. And for suche as be sicke very necessary. Especially foder must be gotten in for horses: and suche as can not be brought in must be burnt. Likewyse of wyne,

of wyne vineger and al other kinde of graine, or fruite great store must be layde vp, and nothing that may be profitable to thē, ought to be left for the enemies. Gardens also, both for the profite and pleasure of them, ought not to be neglected, in the grasseplotes and yardes of houses. But it dothe litle profite to haue gathered muche together, except from the beginning, the deliuerie or distributiō be moderated by such conuenient ouerseers, as haue charge thereof with a good & profitable measuring of the same. For they be neuer in daunger of famine, whiche vsed in time of plentie to kepe sobrietie and moderation in spending. Also the youth and weomē, whiche are vnfitte for warre, many tymes are thruste for the foor wante of vitailes, least scarcitie oppresse the souldiours, by whome the cities often haue bene defended and kepte.

¶ What kynde of thinges must be prepared for the defence of walles. Chapter. viij.

IT is conuenient that there be prepared, to set the engines of the enemies on fire, suche thinges as are apte to burne, rosyn, brymstone, cleare pitche without dregges, oyle, called Incendiarium, that is to saye, ready to set any thinge on fire. Iron of both tempers to make armour and weapōs, and coales ought to be saued in store houses, woode also for speare staues, and arrowes, must be layde vp in store. Roūd stones out of riuers which for their roundnes are somewhat heauy, and meete for the casters, must be gathered moste diligently: with the whiche the walles and towers should bee filled. The leaste stones of all are to throwe with slinges, or slingestaues, or els with the hande, the greater stones are shotte with the gunnes. But the greatest of all, by reason of their weight & rowling fashion muste be layde in fortresses, that they being throwen downe headloug vpon a soden, may not onely ouerwhelme ẏ enemies vnderneath, but also may breake their engines. Also mightie great wheeles muste be framed of greene woode, or rowlers cut of very strōg trees,

whiche

C 24631

whiche they call Taleæ, muste be made smoothe, that they may rowle, whiche sliding downe doe ouerthrowe the souldiours with the sodayne vehemencie, and make the horses sore afrayde. There must be also in readines beames & trasinges or boordes. And nailes and pinnes of iron of diuers quantities. For suche engines of the enemies muste bee hindred by other lyke, specially whē as the walles or fortresses vpō a soden shall haue neede to be made higher, least the moueable towers of the enemies should rise aboue them and so take the citie.

¶ What ought to be done if store of stringes or cordes doe fayle. Chapter. ix.

IT is also expedient to gather very diligently good store of stringes or sinewes, for as muche as ỳ ordinaunce whiche is called Onager and Balista, and other like, excepte they be bent and drawen with cordes or sinewes auayle nothing. Notwithstanding, the bigge heares of the tayles or manes of horses, are thought good for the lesser artillery. But it is a thing moste certaine, and hath bene tride in the Romaines neede that weomens heares in suche kinde of ordinaunce are no lesse profitable. For in the long siege of Capitolium (the chiefe castell of the citie of Rome) their artillerie being marred with the continuall and wearisome sight of the enemies, and cordes or stringes failing them; the matrones of Rome cutte their heare from their head & brought it to their husbandes as they were fighting, & so repairing their engines, they draue backe the force of their enemies. For those honest and chaste weomen, rather chose with heades for a time disfigured to liue at libertie with their husbandes, then with all their trimming to be subiecte to their enemies. It is also good to get together hornes & rawe hides, for the couering of complet armoure, and other engines and munitions.

¶ What should be done that the besieged lacke not water. Chapiter. x.

It is

IT is a greate profite and commoditie for a citie, to haue within the walles welles, and ſpringes, euer continuing, and enduring. If ſo be that the nature of the place doe not ſerue, thē muſt you digge pittes of what depenes ſoeuer you thinke good, and drawe vp the water with ropes. But ſome tyme the places which are fenced with moūtaines & rockes, are more drie then other. In ſuche a caſe you may builde a forte at the foote of the hil, & ſo ſhal you by digging finde water. And from of the forte defende it with dartes, or other ſhotte appointed for the purpoſe, that there may bee free going and comming, for the fetching of water. If it be ſo that the water be without the caſte of the darte, & yet in the ſide of an hyll vnder the citie: it is mete that a little forte (which they cal a blockehouſe) be builded betwene the citie and the ſpringe: and there to be placed ordinaunce and archers, that the water may be defended from the enemies. Moreouer, in all the publike and common buyldinges of the citie, and in many priuate buildinges there ſhould be ceſternes moſte diligently ordeined, that they may be receites for rayne water whiche falles from the houſes. For thirſte doth ſeldome ouercome them whiche in a ſiege haue vſed water onely for their drinke, though it were neuer ſo little.

¶ If ſault ſhould fayle in the citie, what ought to be done. Chapiter. xj.

IF the citie ſtande by the ſea, and ſalte bee wantinge, take water out of the ſea, and poure it into broade veſſels, and by the heate of the ſunne it wyll turne to ſalte. If ſo bee that the enemy doe ſtoppe thee from the water (for that oftē tymes doth chaunce) then take the ſande, whiche the ſea caſteth vp, and waſhe the ſame with freſh water, and that water being dried, will turne likewyſe into ſalte.

¶ What ſhould be done when the enemy doth firſt aſſaulte the walles. Chapiter. xij.

What

C 24631

VVhat time as the assault is geuen to a Castell or Cittye, great is the daunger on both partes, but greater is the bloudshedde of them that geue the assaulte. For they that couet to enter the walles, with terrible preparation shewe forth al theyr armye, and wyth noyse of men and trumpettes fray the towne, hoping therby to make it yelde. Then the townes men being astonyed at the first bruntе (for feare disinayeth the vnexercised) if they know not the experience of suche daungers quickelye loose their Cittye, if the ennemye set ladders to the wall. If it be so that at the first meeting the ennemye be put backe by bolde and warrelike men, streight waye the townes men waxe boulde, and then they fight not with feare, but with courage & cunning.

¶ A rehearsall of engines with which the walles are assaulted. Chap. xiij.

The engines that are set to walles are in latine called Testudines, Arietes, Falces, Vineæ, Plutei, Musculi, Turres. In Englishe, Snayles, Rammes, Hookes, Vines, deskes, Pyse, Turrettes. Of which particulerlye after what maner they may be made, by what maner cunninge also they may fight or be driuen backe, I will hereafter declare.

¶ Of the battering Ramme, the hooke and the snayle Chap. xiiij.

The engine called Testudo, that is to say, the snaile is ioyned together of timber and boards, which to kepe away fyre is couered with lether or heareclothes, or any patched clothe. This engine hath within it a beame which is headed with a croked yron called Falx, that is to say an hooke, to thende that it may drawe stones out of the walles, or els the heade of the selfe same beame is couered all with yron, and is named Aries, that is a Ramme: eyther because it hath a verye hard forehead to cast downe the walles,

les, or els because after ỹ maner of Rammes it goeth backewarde, to the intente it maye strike with a more vehemente force. But Testudo, hath taken that name of the forme & similitude of the verye snayle in deede: because like as the snayle sometimes pluckes backe her head, sometimes puttes it forthe: euen so this engine, sometime drawethe the beame backe, sometime thrusteth it oute, that it maye strike with greater power.

¶ Of sheddes, deskes and countermure. Chap. xv.

THe engine named Vinea, that is a vyne, is compacte of light woode and it is viii. foote highe, seuen foote broade, and xvi. foote longe. The coueringe of it is double with boardes and hurdles. The sydes also are hedged with roddes, least they should be pearsed with violence of stoones and dartes. The out syde is couered with rawe & new hydes, or els with tyltclothes, that it be not set on fyre. A nomber of these are ioyned together in a rowe: vnder the which the besiegers being safe, do pearse the foundations of the walles to throw them downe. Plutei are called, which after the similitude of a compassed vaute or arche, are compacted of roddes, and couered aboue with heareclothes or lether, and are moued as it were a cart, vnto what part soeuer you will, with three little wheeles, of the which one is set in the middest and two in the heade or forepart. These do the besiegers bring to the walles: and standing vnder them wyth arrowes, or slinges, or dartes, driue awaye the defenders from the walles, that they maye better scale the walles with ladders. But that that is called Agger, or countermure, is raysed vp of earthe and woode against the walle, from the which the dartes are throwen.

¶ Of engines called Musculi. Chapiter xvj.

Musculi

C 24631

MVsculi be lesser engines, wyth the whiche the men of warre being couered, if myre or the ditche of the Cittye do hinder them, do not onlye fill the same, but also make it harde with stoones, woode, and earth brought thereunto. To the ende that the moueable towers maye be ioyned to the walles without anye let or hinderaunce. They be called Musculi, of beastes of the Sea like vnto mysse. For like as they, although they be lesser, yet the ayde and helpe ỹ Whales, in going before them for dashinge against rockes: euen so these lesser and shorter enginnes appointed to serue the greate mouable towers wyth wheeles, do prepare the way for their cõminge, and fortifye the passage before them.

¶ Of towers mouable. Chap. xvij.

TOwers are a kinde of engines ioyned together of beames and boardes, after the similitude of buildinges. And to kepe so great a worke from fyringe by the enemyes: it is most dilligẽtly fenced on all partes with rawe hydes or tylt clothes: for the heighte of it is proportionable to the breadth, for sometime they be xxx. foote broade by the square, sometime xl. or l. But the tallenes or height must be such, that they may passe in height, not onlye the walles, but also the towers of stone. These towers must haue many wheeles cunninglye made, by the easye rolling of the which so great a frame may be moued. And it is present daunger to the Cittye, if the tower come once to the walles. For it hath with it a nomber of ladders & diuers wayes maye set men into the towne. For in the lower part it hath the Ramme, wᵗ the violence of which it beates downe the walles About the middle it hath a bridge made of two beames and hedged wᵗ roddes which may quicklye be brought forth, & set betwene the tower and the wall, & the men of warre going by ỹ same out of the engine passe ouer into the Cittye & take the walles In the higher partes of the same tower, be placed pykemen and Archers, which from an highe maye ouerthrowe the defenders of the Cittye, wyth pykes arrowes and stones Which being done, the Cittye is taken without delay.

For

for what helpe doth remayne, when as they which did truste to the height of their walles, sodainlye beholde aboue them a wall of their ennemyes higher then theirs.

¶ Howe the mouable tower may be set on fyre. Chap. xviii.

THis euident and apparant daunger many wayes may be resisted. First if your souldiours be strong & bould, a nomber may issue forth together. And dryuinge awaye the ennemyes, pull of the lether and set fyre on the tower. If so be ỳ they dare not issue forth, let them discharge the greater artillerye, and such as they call Malleoli & Phalaricæ, with fyre shotte, that rentinge the hides or tyltclothes a sonder the flame maye be hidde inwardlye. Malleoli be as it were, arrowes which burne all where they light. But Phalarica after the maner of a Jauelin hath a stronge heade of yron, and betweene the hollownes or pype thereof and the staffe, it is wrapped rounde aboute wyth brimstone, rosen, pitche & towe soked in ople apt to burne, the which beinge discharged leuell with the violence of your artillerye, breaketh the coueringe, and stickinge in the woode oftentimes burneth the whole turret. Also you maye let downe men wyth roopes when your ennemyes be a sleape, & wyth lanternes priuilie hidde, burne their engines, and then pull them vp againe.

¶ Howe you maye make your walles higher. Chap. xix.

THat part of the wall to ỳ which the engine commeth, maye be made higher either wyth morter and stones, or with claye or bricke, or wyth bards and planckes, and so shall not the defenders be oppressed wyth the heighte of the turret. And the turret being to lowe shall serue to no vse. But they that besiege townes, vse oftentimes this policye. First they build such a tower as may seeme lower then the walles of the Citty: afterwardthey make another litle tower within of bourdes and plankes, and when the tower is ioyned to the walles sodainlye they putte forthe that

C 24631

little turret with roopes and pullyes, oute of the which the armed men going forth, because it is higher then the walles straight waye take the Cittye.

¶ By what meane the earth maye be digged, that the engine can do no harme.

Chap. xx.

SOmetime they do set longe beames headed wyth yron against the commynge of the engine, and so keepe of the same from the wall. But when as the Cittye of Rhodes was besieged by ennemyes, and they had made a tower wyth wheeles aboue the heighte of all the walles and towers, this remedye was inuented by the witte of a certaine craftes man: in the night he vndermined the wall, and that place to the which the daye after the tower shoulde be remoued, he made hollowe within casting, out the earth, none of the ennemyes perceyuing it: so that when that great frame was dryuen and forced forward with the wheeles, and came to the place whiche vnderneath was made hollowe before, straight waye it soncke, the grounde yeldinge to so greate a weight, so that it coulde not come neare ỹ walles nor be moued anye further, and by this meane the Cittye was delyuered and the engine left behinde.

¶ Of ladders and the frame of tymber wyth ropes, of the bridge, and of the sweape.

Chap. xxj.

VVhen the tower comes to the wall by all meanes possible they dryue the ennemye from the wall, with stones, dartes, arrowes, pellettes & such like. This being done, and ladders set to the wall, they take the Cittye. But they which do scale the walles with ladders, manye times sustaine perill and daunger after the example of Capaneus: by whom this manner of assaulte with ladders is sayde to be first inuented, who was slaine with so greate vio-

lence by the Thebanes, that he was thought to be destroyed with thunder. And therfore the besiegers do enter the walles of the ennemies with these engines called Sambuca, Exostra and Tolleno, that is to saye, a frame of timber & roopes, a bridge, and a sweape. Sambuca is called after the similitude of an harpe: for like as in a harpe there be stringes, so in the beame which is nexte the towers, be roopes which do loase and set at libertye the bridge wyth pullyes, from ꝯ vpper part, that it may go vppon the wall: and straight way the men of warre issue out of the tower, and goinge ouer vppon it, do inuade the walles of the Cittye. Exostra is that bridge which we spake of before, which sodainly is stretched forthe of the tower vnto the wall. Tolleno is this, when a beame is set fast and deepe vppon the earth, vppon the which in the highest toppe, another beame is ioyned ouerthwarte, longer by the one halfe in measure so equallye, that when you pull downe the one ende, the other ryseth vppe. In the one ende of this wyth hurdles and boardes, is made roume for a few men to stand in. Then pulling the one ende downe with roopes, ye lifte vppe the other ende, & so set your men vppon the walles.

¶ Of the lesser kinde of Ordinaunce called Balista. Of the greater named Onager, of that which is called Scorpio, of Crossebowes called Arcubalistæ, of slingstaues and slinges, by the which the wall is defended. Chap. xxij.

AGainst these incõmodityes such kindes of ordinaunce defende them that be besieged, Balistæ, a lesser kinde of ordinaunce, Onagri a greater, also that which is called Scorpio, Arcubalistæ, Crossebowes, Fustibali, slingstaues, archers and slinges. Balista is a kinde of Ordinaunce bente with roapes or cordes, the which the longer and greater that it is, so muche the further it casteth ꝯ shot, and this kinde of ordinaunce if it be cunninglye framed, and afterwarde discharged by skilfull men that know the reech

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C 24631

and compaſſe of it, doth pearce throughe whatſoeuer it ſtryketh. That which is named Onager, ſerueth to ſhoote ſtoones withall: and becauſe the roopes of it are greate, therefore the ſtones are mightye that it caſteth. For the greater and larger the engine is, ſo much the greater ſtones it hurleth in maner of thunder. There is no kinde of ordinaunce more violent then theſe two ſortes. Scorpiones were called in the olde time ſuch as nowe we terme Manubaliſtæ, ſo named becauſe that with ſmall arrowes they kill mē. I thinke it ſuperfluous to declare Fuſtibaliſtas, Arcubaliſtas & Fundas, which experience at this preſent knoweth wel enoughe. The ordinaunce that I named Onager, if it ſhoote mightye ſtoones, doth not onlye ouerthrow horſemen and footemen, but alſo breaketh the engines of the ennemyes in ſonder.

Againſt the engine named a Ramme, be flockebeddes or matreſſes very good, alſo roopes and great pillers. Chapiter .xxiij.

AGainſt the battring Rammes or hooks, ther be manye helpes and remedyes, for ſome with cordes lette downe their tiltclothes and other patched geare, and mattreſſes, and ſo let them hange in ſuch places as ꝑ ramme doth beate, that the violence and force of the engine may be broken with the ſoftnes of theſe, and not throwe downe the wall. Some others with a nomber of men, do from the wall catch the Ramme wyth roopes, and drawing it a ſyde ouerthrowe it: Manye vſe to tye vnto roopes a peece of yron muche like vnto a payre of sheeres full of teethe, which they call Lupum, and ſo eyther they do ouerthrowe the Ramme caughte with the ſame, or els lifte it vppe, that it hath no force to ſtryke. Sometime they throwe downe huge ſtones of marble, or other of like hardnes from ꝑ walles, and all to breake the Rammes.

If the force of ỹ Ramme shalbe so greate, that it shall beate throughe the wall and cast it downe (as oftentimes it chaũceth,) then is there none other helpe but to pull downe your houses, and make another wall within, & so betweene two walles to slea your ennemyes, if they breake in.

¶ Of undermining and throwing downe walles that waye. Chap. .xxiiij

There is another kinde of assault, that is under ỹ earth and priuye, which is called undermininge. The maner of it is this, a nomber of pyoners digge in the earth as myners do, and makinge a trenche, by that meanes seeke to destroy the Cittye. The which by two wayes they bring to passe. For eyther they do enter the Cittye, and by nighte when the townes men are not ware of it, do issue oute of their trenche, and unlockinge the gates let in theyr owne armye, and slea the ennemyes in their houses at unwares: or els whẽ they come to the foũdations of the wall, they digge under a great part of it, and with dyre timber underset it, that for a whyle it maye not fall, afterwarde they laye manye fagottes and suche lyke dyre fuell about it, and hauinge placed theyr souldiours in araye, they set fyre to it, so that the pillers of woode and boardes being burnte, and the wall there with falling sodainly, they haue a way layed open for them to burst in at.

¶ What the townes men oughe to do, if the ennemyes bruste into the Cittye. Chap.xxv.

It is manifest by infinite examples, that they which haue entered theyr ennemyes Cittye oftentimes haue beene so slaine, that not one hath escaped. Which thinge withoute doubte doth come to passe, if the townes men do keepe their walles and towers, or take first the highest places.

For

C 24631

For then suche as be of age, both men and women, do ouerwhelme with stones and other kindes of weapons, suche as do breake in: the which to auoyde, wyse Captaynes set open the gates of the Cittye: to thintent that hauing leaue to departe, they maye not resist. For desperation in such a case, is a necessarye enforcement to manhoode.

The townes men haue onlye this helpe, whether the ennemyes enter by day or by night, to holde and keepe their walles and towers, and to clyme vppe to the highest places, and so to ouerthrowe theyr ennemyes on euerye syde, in all the streetes of the Cittye.

¶ What heede ought to be taken, least the ennemyes priuilye take the wall.

Chap. xxvj.

Manye times ỹ besiegers do inuent some guile or craft, and by a counterfette desperation depart a good way of. But when as, after feare is past, the vnheedefull and careless townes men haue taken rest, watch of the walles being geuen ouer, the ennemyes come priuilye with ladders, takinge occasion of the darckenes of the nighte, and so clyme the walles. For which cause a greater and more diligente heede muste be had, when as the ennemye is gone awaye: and in the verye walles and towers, ought small cabines to be made, in which the watche men in winter season may be defended from showers and colde, and in Sommer from the heate of the Sunne. This thinge also experience hath founde that in the towers is good to keepe fierce dogges and quicke of smellinge, whiche can perceyue the comminge of the ennemye by the sente, and geue warning therof by barkinge.

Also geese by like skil of nature declare by their cryings, the sodaine inuasions of the ennemyes by night. For the French men enteringe into the chiefe Tower or Pallace of Rome (called Capitolium) had for euer blotted out the name of the Romaynes, had not Manlius withstode them beinge rayled

bype with the crynge of geese. And by the meanes of one goose they were saued, which afterward subdued the whole worlde.

¶ How the townes men maye be deceyued. Chap. xxvii.

ABoue all thinges it is counted the greatest matter, not onlye in sieges, but euen in all kindes of warre, to spye out and knowe dilligentlye the custome and vse of the ennemye. For you cannot conuenientlye by layinge wayte for them deceiue them, excepte you knowe at what houres they cease from theyr labour, and at what time they be lesse cyrcumspecte, whether at none or towardes euen or in the night, or at such times as they eate their meate, when as ꝑ souldiours of both sydes are dispersed to take their rest, and to refreshe their bodyes. Whiche thinge when the besiegers perceiue, subtillye they withdraw themselues from battell, that they maye geue free libertye to the ennemye to be verye negligent. Which negligence what time as it shalbe greatest, for that they feare nothinge, then the besiegers shall sodenlye bringe their engines and ladders to the walles, and take the Cittye. Therefore in the walles the townes men ought to haue stones and ordinaunce in a readines, to thende that as sone as the deceipte is knowen, they maye resist and haue at hande such thinges as they may roule, and cast vppon the heades of their ennemyes.

¶ What the besiegers oughte to do that they be not entrapped of the townes men. Chap. xxviii.

IF the besiegers likewyse be negligente, they are as sone caught by deceipt as the other, for whether they be occupyed at meate, or sleape, or els scattered a sonder throughe idlenes or anye other necessitye: then the townes men sodenlye rushe forth, they slea them ere they be aware, sette on fire their enginnes, rammes, and the verye countermurs, and ouer-

C 24631

ouerthrowe all the workes that were made against them. For this cause the besiegers do make a trench, a stones cast of, and so furnishe the same, not only with a pale and stakes, but also with turrettes and fortresses, that they may easelye withstande them that issue forth of the Cittye, which worke they call Loriculam, and oftentimes when a siege is described in anye history, yee shall reade that this or that towne was compassed rounde aboute with this palework called Loricula.

¶ Wyth what kinde of ordinance Cittyes maye be defended. Chap. xxix.

ALL kinde of shot, either pellets of leade, or Jaueline, short dartes, or longer dartes, the higher that they come downe, so much more violentlye they fall vpon those that be vnder them. Arrowes, also shotte with bowes and stones throwne with hands, slinges or slingstaues, from how much the higher place they be cast, so much the deeper do they pearse. But Balistæ and Onagri, two kindes of ordinaunce if they be warelye discharged by such as be skilful and cunning, they do cutte in sonder euery thing they meete with, and against this kinde of ordinance can nothinge be a sufficient defence. For whatsoeuer it strikes in maner of thunder it vndoeth it & goeth through it.

¶ Howe ye maye knowe what heyght your ladders and other enginnes ought to be of.

Chap. xxx.

LAdders and other enginnes do verye muche auayle for the takinge of towne walles, if they be made of such heighte that they ouer reache the towne.

The heyghte of the towne yee maye take two maner of wayes, for eyther maye you tye a slender line to the one ende of an arrowe, and so shootinge it, when it shall come to the toppe of the wall, by the lengthe of the lyne you maye know

the heighte of the wall, or els when the sonne eyther setting or ryslnge doth caste a shadowe from the towers and walles to the earthe, then measure the lengthe of that shadowe, thine eunemyes not knowinge thereof. And afterwarde sticke vppe a poole tenne foote hye aboue the grounde, and measure likewise the shadowe therof, the which being done, ye maye easelye knowe the heyghte of the wall or towne, by proportion of the poole, seinge that a bodye of this heighte casteth a shadowe of this or that lengthe.

And thus haue I sette forth for the common commodity and profitte (as I suppose) of those thinges, which auncient writers of chiualrye haue lefte behinde them, and the latter age by experience hath necessarilye founde out touching the assault and defendinge of Cittyes. Marye this one thinge I cannot to muche warne you of, that you prouide dilligentlye that there be neyther scarcitye of meate nor drincke in your Cittye besieged, for that cannot by anye meanes be remedyed. Therfore the longer time that you suppose ꝑ siege wil endure, so much the more victualles must you laye vppe in your towne.

*** And thus much the maner of warre on lande, beinge declared sufficientlye, with the meanes of defendinge and assaulting of Townes: I will consequently treate of warre helde on the Sea, and of shippes and Gallyes, and first of ꝑ Liburnian Gallyes.

Preceptes to be obserued in makinge warre vppon the Sea.

Chapiter .xxxj.

THe maner of makinge warre vppon the lande, sufficientlye declared at your maiestyes commaundemente (most mightye and worthye Emperour) the portion yet not spoken of, as I trowe, is of warre vppon the Sea.

C 24631

Of the feates and cuminge wherof the leſſe therefore remayneth to be ſpoken, for that the Sea beinge quieted now this good while, wee keepe warre with other ſtrange Nations vppon the lande. Notwithſtanding that the people of Rome for the worſhippe and commoditye of their greate renowne: and not for anye neceſſitye growing by ſodaine commotion, but leaſt at anye time it mighte ſuffer daunger, alwayes had an armye in readines. For no man dare geue occaſion of warre, or do, or offer anye wrong to that kingdome or people, whom hee knoweth well prouided, and readye to withſtande and to reuenge the ſame. Therefore at Miſenū and Rauenna Cittyes of Italye, at eche there abode a Legion of Romaynes with ꝑ Nauies: that they ſhould not leaue the Cittye vndefended: and when as occaſion ſerued, without delay or fetching much compaſſe, they might paſſe to al partes of the worlde. For the Miſenates had lyinge harde vppon them Fraunce, Spayne, the Moores, Affricke, Egipte, Sardine, and Cycil. The Rauennates vſed to paſſe with a ſtreighte courſe into Epyrus, Macedonia, Achaia, Propontis, Pontis, Eaſt Aſia, Creta and Cyprus: and to theſe with moſt ſpeede, becauſe in warrelye affayres ſpeedines and ſwiftnes doth more auayle then manhoode.

¶ The names of the Iudges which gouerned the Nauye. Chap. .xxxii.

The chiefe Captayne of the Nauye of the Miſenates, did gouerne the ſhippes or Gallyes which laye in Cāpania, on the weſte ſyde of Italye: but the Captayne of the Nauye of the Rauennates, did keepe them that reſted in the Sea called Ionium on the Eaſte ſyde of Italye: vnder the which there were appointed .10. Tribunes, in euerye bande one. But euerye Gallye had ſuch a one as was called Nauarchus, that is, the maiſter or gouernour of the ſhippe whom they called alſo Nauicularium, a Pilote or cōducter of ſhippes. Which beſides other duties of Mariners, did carefullye and dilligentlye euerye daye, helpe the gouernours

nours and rowers, and further also wyth all possible industry, all maner of exercises of the souldiours.

¶ Why the Lyburnian Gallyes were so called.
Chap. xxxiii.

DIuers countryes at diuers and sundrye times haue beene able to do muche vppon the Sea, and therefore haue had diuers and sondrye kindes of shippes. But what time as Augustus foughte the battell at Actium, whereas Antonye by the ayde of the people of Liburnia, was chiefely ouercome, it appeared by the experiment of so greate a conflicte, that the Liburnian shippes were more fit for the warres then others. And accordyng to the fashion of them, did the Romayne Emperours afterwarde builde their Nauye, borrowing of them both their name and their likenes. For Liburnia is a parte of the countrye called Dalmatia, lying nighe to the Cittye called Iadera: after whose example now the shippes of warre are builded, & be named Liburnæ.

¶ Wyth what dilligence the Gallyes or shippes called Liburnæ are made.
Chap. xxxiiii.

LIke as in buildinge of houses men seeke dilligently for good morter and stones, euē so ought good stuffe be sought for the framinge and makinge of shippes, and so much rather because the daunger is greater if a shippe be faltye, then an house. Therfore if you will builde a Liburnian vessell, chose chiefely to make it of Cypryssle and Pyne tree, Larche & Firre, then any other tymber. And for your nailes, it is more profitable to haue them of brasse then yrō, althoughe the cost be greater. For yron nayles will sone be rustye with water, and so consume: but brasen nayles for all the water, do keepe their naturall substance still.

¶ What heede must be taken in cuttinge downe of Timber. Chap. xxxv.

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C 24631

The Timber whereof Gallyes muſt be made, oughte to be cutte downe betweene the xv. and the xxiii. daye of the Moone. And this muſt eſpeciallye be obſerued. For none other but onlye that which is cutte in theſe eyghte dayes, will be free from wormes and rottinge. That which is vppon anye other daye hewed downe, within a yeares ſpace, wilbe wormе eaten and turne to duſt. And this do all Carpenters know to be true, by their ſkill and dailye experience.

¶ In what monethes Timber ſhould be cutte downe. Chap. xxxvi.

It is good cuttinge of Timber in Julye and Auguſt, and ſo till the firſt of Januarye, for then be trees moſt without ſappe, and therefore the timber both dryer and ſtronger. But you muſt beware that ſtraight vpon the cutting downe your Timber, you ſquare it not, nor make your ſhippe of it, as ſone as you haue ſquared it. For timber aſketh a double dryinge tyme, one before it be ſawen, and another after, and ſo ſhall it be thorowlye dryе, and fitte for your vſe: wheras if you put greene Timber or boarde into a ſhippe, within a whyle after when it waxeth dryе, it will ſhrincke and make wyde riftes, which is moſt perillous for thoſe that are in the ſhippe.

¶ Of the bignes and faſhion of Gallyes called Liburnæ. Chap. xxxvij.

As touching the quantity or greatnes of the Gallyes named Liburnæ, the leaſt of all haue euerye one, one row or bench of Oares: they that be ſomwhat greater haue two, they that be of a conuenient bignes haue three or foure, or els ſometime fiue. Neyther let this thing ſeeme ſtraunge to anye man, ſeinge that in the battell at Actium, there were much greater Gallyes then I haue ſpoken of, ſo that ſome had ſixe rankes of Oares and aboue. But ſmall boates ỳ ſerue for ſcoutes, and go alwayes with the greater Gallyes, haue almoſt twenty rowers in eche ſyde: the olde Brytaines termed theſe kindes of boates Pictas.

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Their vse is sodenlye to steale vppon the ennemyes shippes, and to meete with their prouision by the waye, and to spye out theyr counsell, and to geue warninge of their comming. And if you will not haue them discryed by their whitenes, you maye coloure their sayles and tacklinge with a lighte blewe, because that is like the Sea coloure: and with the same likewyse staine your pitche wherewith you dresse your shippes, and let your souldiours and Marriners apparel, be likewyse couloured with the same, that neyther in the night nor daye time, they may well be espyed in their scouting.

¶ The names and nomber of the windes.

Chap. xxxviij.

VUhosoeuer caryeth an armye with his Nauye, ought to foreknow the signes of stormes and whirlewindes. For Gallyes haue more often beene taken away with tempestes and surges, then with the force of ennemyes. In the which behalfe the whole cunning and knowledge of naturall Philosophye is to be vsed. By the which we learne ẏ nature of wyndes and tempestes, by a certaine deuine kinde or meane. And in a roughe and raginge sea, euen as heede takinge doth defende and saue them that be ware and cyrcũspecte: so negligence doth cast them awaye that be rechles & carelesse. Therefore he that wilbe skilfull in saylinge, ought first to consider the nomber, and also the names of wyndes. Olde warriours perswaded themselues that accordinge to the situation of the foure coastes of Heauen, that onlye foure principall windes did vsuallye blowe from euery part therof, but a latter tyme founde oute twelue windes by experience. Wee haue set forth the names of the same, to put all maner of doubt cleane awaye: so that the principall windes beinge declared, wee maye shewe those also, whiche are ioyned to the same, both on the righte syde and on the lefte. Therefore from the place where the sonne stayeth in the Springetime, that is to saye, frõthe chiefe and middle point of the Easte, commeth the plaine Eastwinde. Unto this is

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C 24631

keepeth the middle pointe of the South, vnto this is ioyned on the right syde the South southeast winde: on the left syde the South southwest winde. The plaine west wind keepeth the middle point of the West. Unto this on the right syde is ioyned the West Northwest winde, on the left syde ꝑ West Southwest winde. The plaine Northwynd doth keepe the middle point of ꝑ North, vnto which is ioyned on the right syde the North northeast winde, & on the left syde ꝑ North-northwest wind. Of these oftentimes bloweth one at once, sometime two at once, but in greate Tempestes, yea three are wonte to blowe together. The Seas whiche of their owne nature are still and quiet, through the vehemencye of these windes, waxe roughe with raginge and troublesome waues. As these windes blowe accordinge to the nature of times or places: so tempestes are turned into calme weather, contrarye wyse calme weather into tempestes. And a luckye winde bringes a nanye to the most desyred hauen: the contrarye winde compelles a man to lye a looke, go backe againe or els to sustaine perill. And that man therefore doth seldome suffer shipwracke, which hath diligently considered the nature and reason of the windes.

¶ In what monethes men may sayle more safelye then others. Chap. xxxix.

NOwe it followeth to speake of monethes and dayes, for neyther doth the violence or raginge of the sea suffer men to sayle al the yeare long: but some monethes are most conuenient to sayle in, some be vncertaine & doubtfull, and other not to be vsed at all. During the course of ꝑ cleare and lightsome time of Sommer, that is to say, after the rysinge of the Pleiades, in latine Vergilie, in english the seuen starres: from the xxvii. day of Maye: vnto the rysing of the starre called Arcturus, otherwise in Greeke Boôtes: that is to saye, vnto the xiiii. daye of September saylinge is thought good and safe, because through ꝑ benefite of Sommer, the rage of the winde is allsuaged. After this time vnto

to the vi. day of Nouember, sayling is more vncertaine and more daungerous: because after the xiii. day of September Arcturus doth ryse, the most vehemente starre of all other. The xviiii. day of September commeth in the raginge time of the Equinoctiall. About the seuẽth daye of October do aryse certayne starres called Hædi pluuiales, betokening rayne. The xi of October doth ryse the starre called Taurus. But from the moneth of Nouember the going downe of the seuẽ starres which is in winter, doth trouble the shippes wyth manye tempestes. Therefore from the xi daye of Nouember vnto the x. day of Marche, the Seas are shutte vp. For whye the verye shorte dayes, the longe nightes, the thicknes of clouds, the darckenes of the ayre, the double raginge of the windes, showers, and snowes: doth much trouble and driue awaye, not onlye Nauyes from the Sea, but also goers, by the waye, or trauellers from a iourney on the lande. But after the byrth day of sayling (as I may terme it) or first settinge forth of shippes to the Sea, which is kept solemne with yearely games and common shoes, or spectacles of manye Nations. The seas are daungerous to proue vnto the xv. daye of Maye, by reason of manye starres rayninge, and also of the time it selfe: not that the trauayle of marchantes shoulde ceasse, but because there is more heede to be taken, when an armye doth sayle wyth Gallyes, then when the foolish & greedy hardines for priuate marchandise doth make hast thereynto.

¶ After what maner the signes and tokens of tempestes maye be obserued, Chap. xl.

MOreouer the rising and going downe of certaine starres doth styre vp ꝑ cause most vehement tempestes: in ꝑ which although certayne dayes be marked by ꝑ testimony of authors, yet for as much as they be sometimes altered by diuers chaũces, we must confesse & acknowledge that mans nature cannot know perfectlye the condition or state of heaue. The rysing of tẽpestes yerely is of thre sorts. For by experience we find ꝑ tẽpestes do happen either about one certayne daye of the yere prefixed, or before it, or after,

C 24631

wherebpon the tẽpestuous seasons that go before ẏ day appointed or middell of winter, we call by ẏ name of a Greeke word *Procheimasin*, those ẏ ryse iust at ẏ ordinary day we name *Epicheimasin*: those ẏ followe the same we terme *Metacheimasm*. But to reherse euerye thinge by name, it seemeth both vnmeete for this place & to long. Seing ẏ many wryters haue declared dilligentlẏ ẏ course & order, not only of monethes, but also of dayes in this case. Also the motions of planettes many times trouble the clerenes of the ayre, when as at certaine dayes appointed by God the creator of the world, they draw neare or depart from some of the xii. signes. Likewise the dayes wherein the Moone chaungeth are commonly ful of tempestes & fearefull to such as vse the sea.

Of signes and tokens whereby to know the clearenes and troublesomenes of the ayre. Chap. xlj.

BY many tokens may men foreknow both stormes after a calme, & fayre weather after tempestes, & this doth ẏ cyrcle of the moone declare as in a glasse. A ruddie colour betokeneth windes, a blewish or skye colour, rayne. A colour mixt of both, foretelleth stormes & ragig weather. A pleasant & brighte cyrcle doth promyse cleare weather to shippes, especially if the fourth day after ẏ chaūge, her hornes be not blunt & redde, nor yet darkened with much moysture. Furthermore in ẏ Sonne ye must marke whether at his rising or setting, his beames be chereful & of one colour: or by reason of a cloude ouer against it, they be of diuers colours, & whether they be bright & glisteringe, or redde like fyre, which is a signe of wynde ẏ will shortly follow: or pale and speckled which betoketh raine sone after. Likewyse by the ayre & sea, & the greatnes and fashion of the clouds, may maryners knowe the chaūges of weather if they geue their minde to it And some tokens may they learne of byrdes, and some of fishes, as Virgill in his Georgikes doth very wisely declare, and Varro in his bookes of sayling doth dilligētly set forth the same. And these things do Pilats & maisters of shippes profesle themselues to know, so farre forth as vnlearned experience without any profound learning hath enstructed them.

Of

¶ Of ebbing and flowing of the Sea.
Chap. xlii.

The Element of the Sea is ꝑ third part of the worlde: whiche beſydes the blowinge of the windes doth alſo moue by it ſelfe. For at certaine houres as well in the daye time as in the night, it runneth to and fro by ebbing & flowing. And ſometime like a ruming brooke, floweth to ꝑ landwarde, ſometime backe into the deepe againe. This doublenes of the mouing of the Sea, doth helpe the courſe of ſhippes if it be wyth them, and hinder them if it be contrarye. Whiche thinge muſt be eſchewed wyth greate heedefulnes of him that intendeth to fight. For the violence of the tyde cannot be ouercome by any helpe of Oares, when as ꝑ winde it ſelfe doth geue place thereto. And becauſe that in diuers conntryes thorowe the ſtate of the moone encreaſing or diminiſhing: at certaine houres the tydes do alter, Therfore he that goeth about to make warre on the Sea, oughte to knowe before hee ioyne battell, the vſage of the Sea in that place.

¶ Of the knowledge of places, and of the rowers.
Chapiter .xliij.

The dilligence and cunning of the Marriners and gouernours, is to knowe the places and hauens where they ſayle, that they maye eſchewe ſhallowe places & ſuche as be daungerous, by reaſon of rockes appearinge or hidde. For the deeper that the ſea is, ſo much the more ſafe & quiet it is. In marriners is requyred dilligence, in ꝑ Maiſter ſkilfulnes: in the rowers ſtrength and manhoode. Becauſe that a Sea battell is ioyned when the water is calme: and Gallyes when they ſtrike their ennemyes ſhippes with their ſtemmes & forepartes, are driuen with Oares and not with wind. And alſo when they ſhunne the brunt of others, they vſe the helpe of Oares, and not winde thereto Therefore loke what parte hath ſtrongeſt rowers and cunningeſt

Captaines

C 24631

Captaine and maister, that same carryeth the victorye.

¶ Of weapons and ordinaunce of shippes. Chap.xliiii

A Land battel requyreth many kindes of armour and weapons, but that which is fought on the Sea, needeth manye mo kindes, both of armour & weapons, and also enginnes and ordinaunce, euen as they should fight on the walles & towers of a Citty. For what is more cruell thē the fight vpon the Sea: whereas men be killed not onlye with water, but with fyre. Therefore there must be a spectiall regarde had of harnesse and other coueringes, that the souldiours be kēced with complete armour, coates of plate, helmets and legge harnesse. For no man can complaine of the waight or burdē of his armour, which fighteth standing in the shippes: ye maye make your shieldes both stronger & larger, to beare of the strokes of stoones, hookes, and clampers, and other kinde of weapons vsed in shippes. Dartes and stones are caste betweene both partyes, with arrowes, pellettes, slinges, slingstaues, leaden plummettes, greater ordinaunce, lesser ordinaunce, pyron bowes or Crosse bowes: and (which is a more greuous thing) they that presume and thincke themselues sure by reason of theyr manhoode, after their Gallyes be ioyned together, do passe ouer into ỳ shippes of their ennemyes on bridges layed ouer betweene.

In the greater gallyes they do make vppe fortresses and towers, that as vppon a wall, so they maye from aboue more easelye wounde and slea their ennemyes. Also they vse to wrappe arrowes in towe, pitche and brimstone, and so kindling them, to shoote and strike them into the sydes of theyr ennemyes shippes, and so sodainly to set them on fyre by reason of the pitche and rosen, wherewith the sydes of the shippes are alreadye annoynted. One sorte are slaine with the sword, and stones or pellettes, another sort are compelled to burne in the water, and amonge so many kindes of deathes (which is the most cruell of al) their bodyes vnburyed, must be deuoured and consumed of fishes.

¶ Howe wyles maye be wrought on the Sea.
Chap. xlv.

AS the vse is in a fielde battell, so likewyse on the water, you may priuilye steale vppon your ennemyes at vnwares; or in creekes and straightes conuenient, you maye hyde a nomber of Gallyes readye to come forthe when neede shall requyre, that your ennemyes being vnprouided, may the sooner be ouercome specially if they be wearye with longe rowing, or if the winde or tyde be contrarye to them, or if they sleape suspecting none ill, or if the rode or corner which they keepe haue no way to issue out. If opportunitye to fight do come as you would wishe, then must your men fall to it cherefullye hauinge these helpes, and so ioyne your battell as maye be most for your aduauntage. If so be that the foresight of the ennemye be such, that they will not be beguiled, but encounter in open fight, then yonr Gallyes muste be placed in araye not straighte as souldiours be in a fielde battell, but bowinge in, after the similitude of ye halfe moone, so that the two endes come oute, and the middle be hollowe, that if the ennemye shall assaye to burst throughe, he may be caught and compassed in, by reason of the very order and araye. But in the winges must ye place the chiefest strength both of your Gallyes and of your souldiours.

¶ What should be done when open battel is ioyned on the Sea. Chap. xlvj.

MOreouer it is profitable that your nauye be alwayes in the despe sea and at libertye, but your ennemyes alwayes driuen to the shoore. For they do loose all force and strength in fighting, which are thrust to lande. In this sea fight, three sortes of weapons helpe muche, named in latine Asseres, Falces, Bipennes. Asser is when a sclender and a long beame much like the sayle yeard, doth hange on the mast, and hath both ye endes headed with yron. This serueth in steede of the battell Ramme, and beinge driuen

C 24631

mightely and with great force, it throweth done and killeth both Mariners & souldiours, & oftentimes beateth through the shippes syoes. Falx is a verye sharpe yron, croked like a hooke, which beinge put vppon greate longe pooles, doth sodenlye cut the ennemyes tackeling a sonder, and the roopes that beare vppe the sayle yarde: and so the sayle clothes falling downe together, doth make the shippe more slowe & vnprofitable. Bipennis is a double edged axe, on both sydes verye broade and sharpe, with the which the moste skilfull Mariners when as the battell is hottest, they go downe into a small boate, and priuilye cutte a sonder the roopes wherewith the rudders of the ennemyes shippes are tyed Which thing beinge done, the shippe is streight way taken as vnarmed. For what helpe is left when the rudder is lost. As touchinge the shippes of pastyme which are vsed in the ryuer of Danubius, in daily watchinges, I purpose to speake nothing at all, because that in them by often vse, hath bene founde more cunninge, then our auncestours haue left to vs in wryting, and my purpose was only to gather such thinges together, as I finde witten in Bookes.

(* * * *)

FINIS.

C 24631

This engine ſerueth for the xiiij. Chapter

of the fourth Booke. Folio. 55.

This engine serveth for the xiiij. Chapter
of the fourth Booke. Folio. 55.

C 24631

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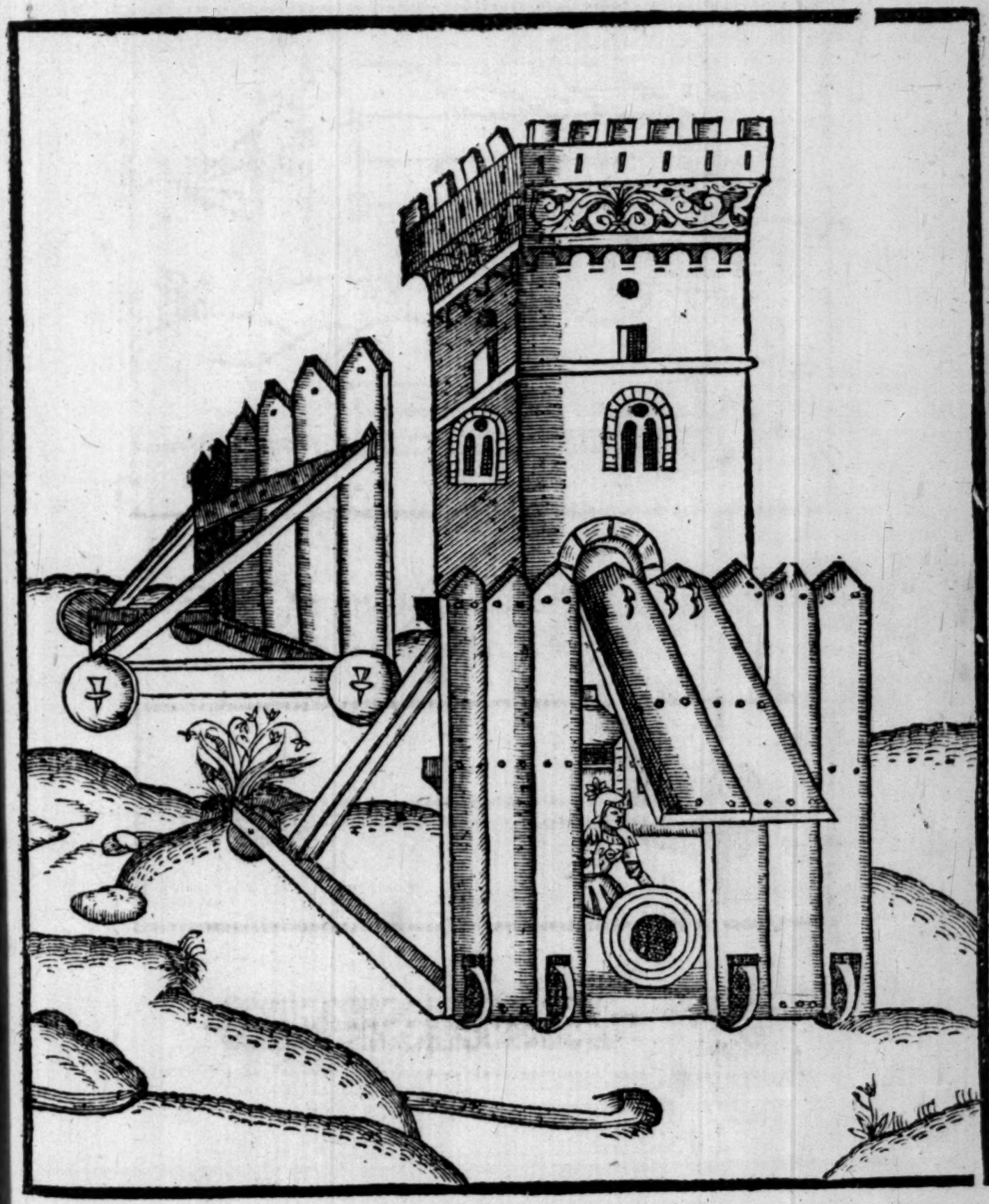
of the fourth Booke. Folio. 55.



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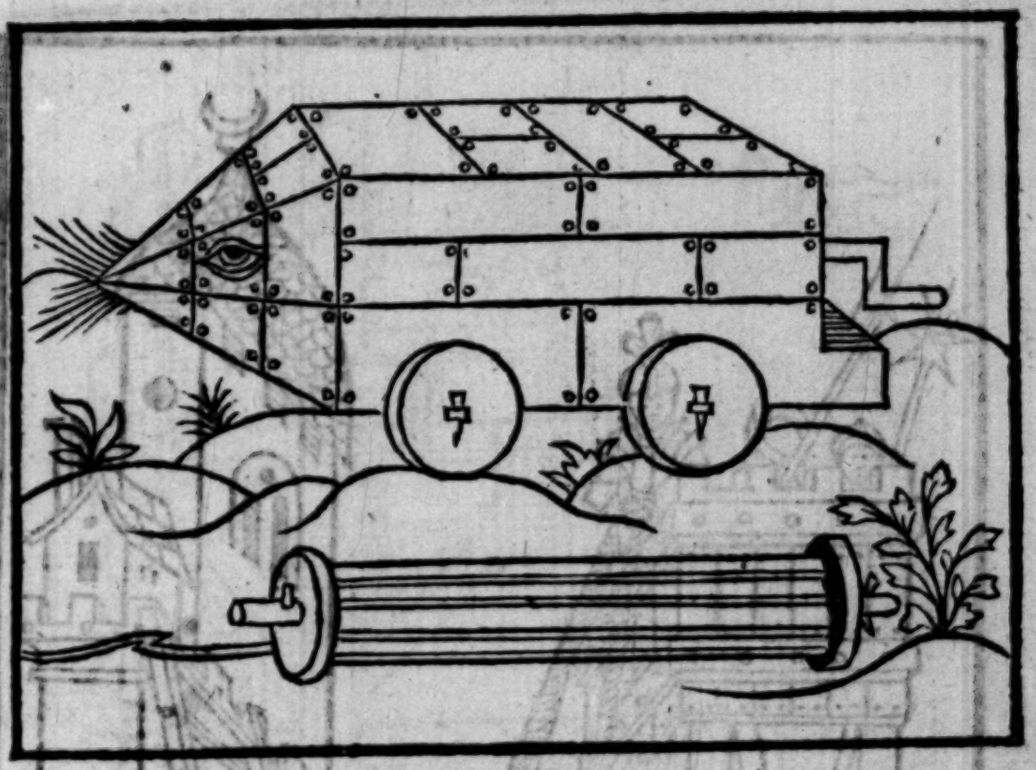
of the fourth Booke.
Folio. 56.



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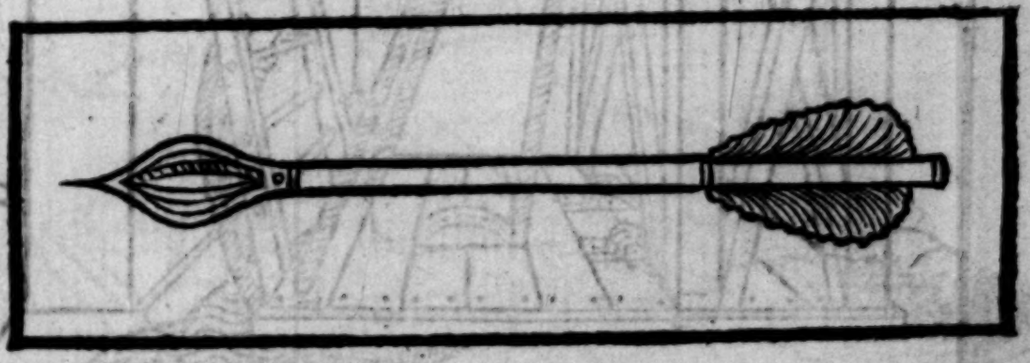

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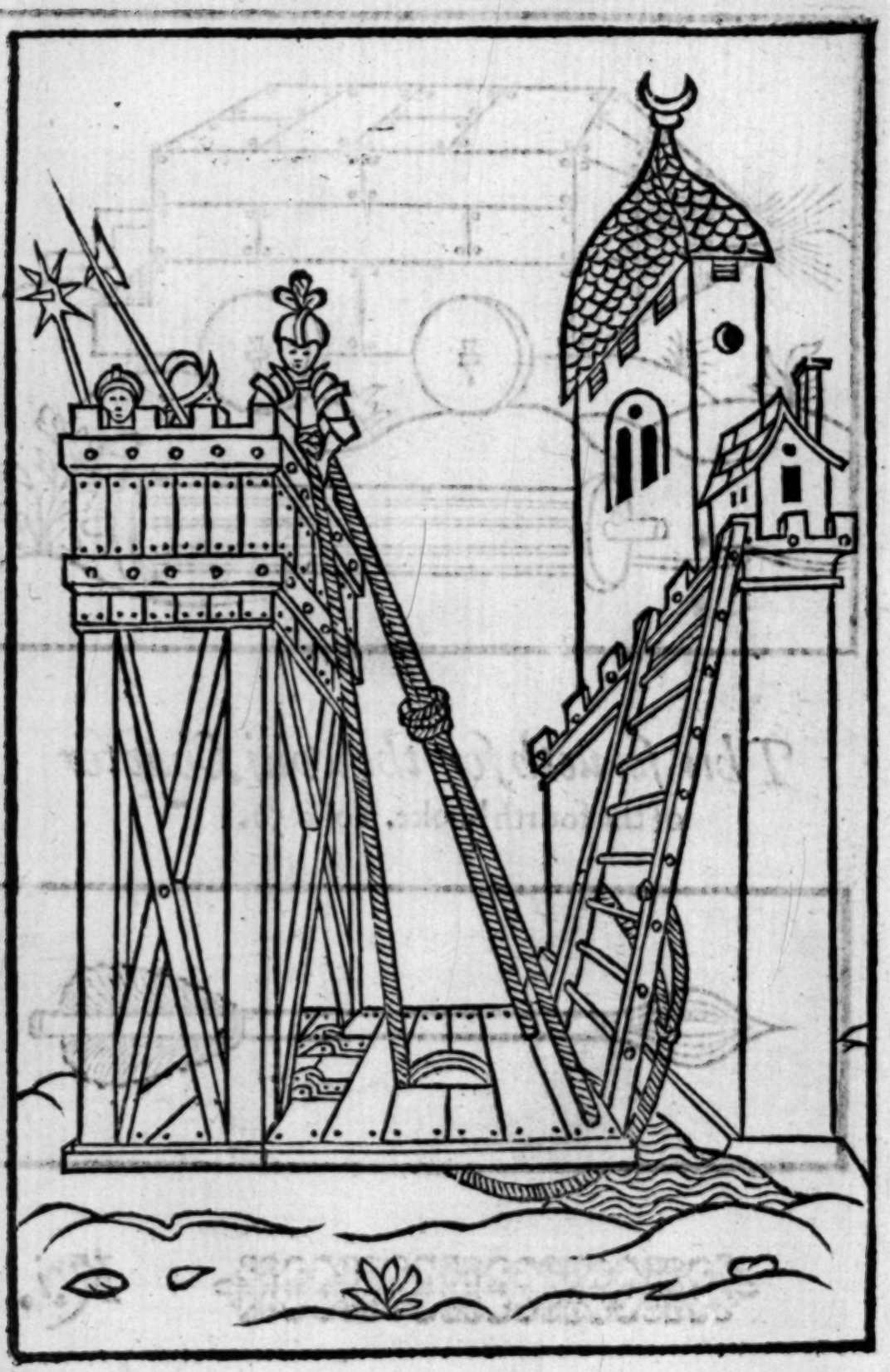
Booke. Folio. 57.



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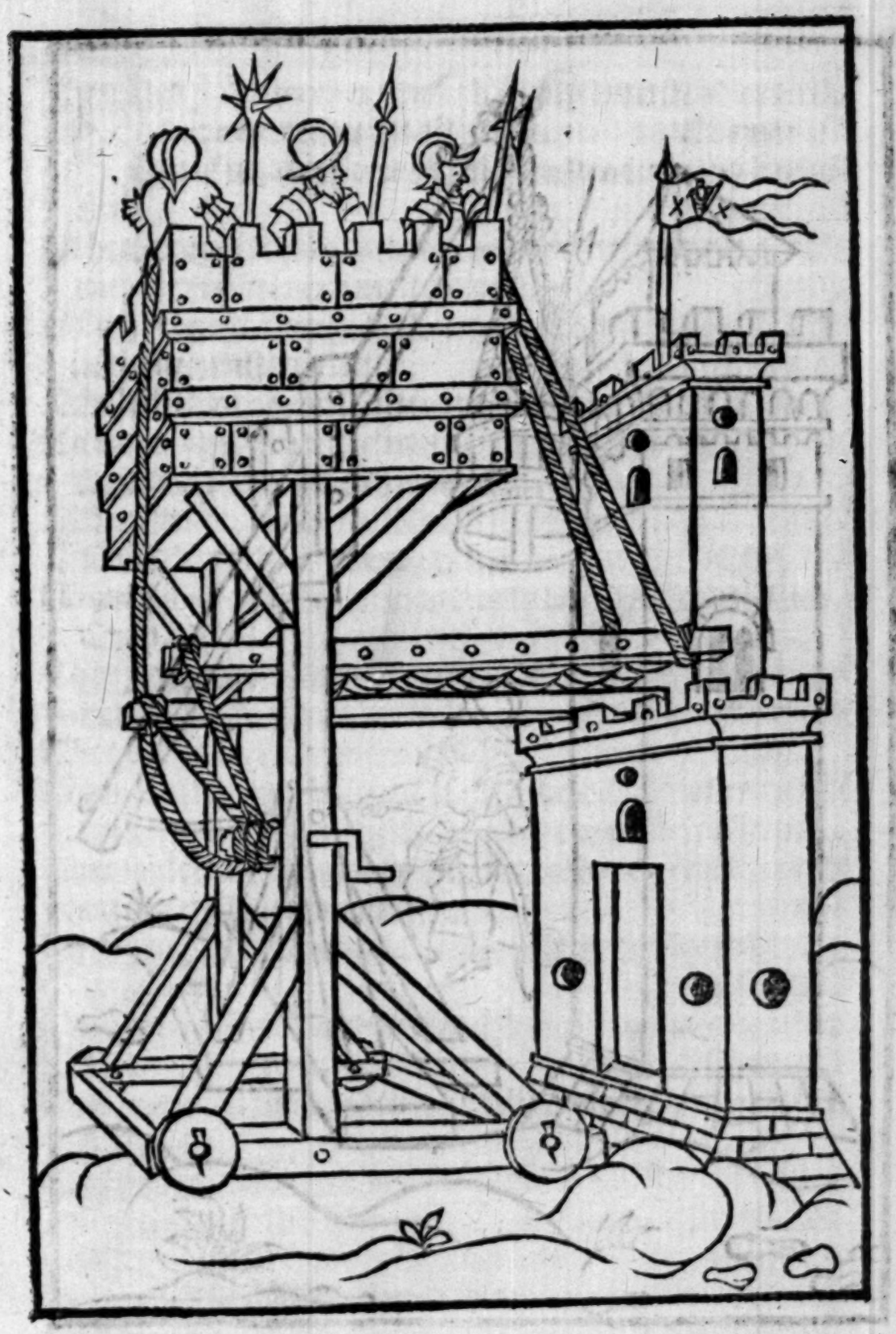

For the xxi. Chapter of the
fourth Booke.

C 24631

A table declaringe what euerye Booke contayneth in euery Chapter.

The first Booke.

That ye Romaynes through ye only exercise of armes, haue ouercome all Nations. Chapter .1.
Out of what coũtryes a yong souldiour should be chosen. Chapter. 2.
Whether out of the countrye or out of the Cittye yong souldiours may be taken most conueniently. Chap 3.
Of what age the yonge souldiour should be, which shoulde be thought allowable. Chap. 4.
Of what stature yong souldiours should be chosen Chap 5.
To know by the countenaunce & making of the body which souldiours are like to proue good. Chap. 6.
What sciences yonge souldiours should be skilful in, which should be eyther chosen or refused. Chap. 7.
What time yonge souldiours should be regestred or billed. Chap. 8.
That yonge souldiours be exercised in marchinge, running and leaping. Chap. 9.
That yonge souldiours should vse to swimme Chap. 10
Howe warriours aforetime caused their souldiours to vse wicker tergets, & cudgels, at a stake or post. Chap. 11.
That souldiours shoulde be taughte to foyne & thrust, not to cutte, and strike downe righte. 12.
That yonge souldiours be taughte cunningelye to handle weapons. Chap. 13.
That yonge souldiours shoulde vse to cast dartes and other shot. Chap. 14.
That yong souldiours should be diligently taught to shoote Chap. 15.
That yonge souldiours should be vsed to cast stoones with a slinge, or with the hand. Chap 16.
Of the exercise of leaden plummettes. Chap. 17.
That yonge souldiours should be exercised to vault or moũt on horses. Chapter. 18.
That yonge souldiours should vse to carry weight and burdens.

dens. Chap.19.
What kinde of armour souldiours of old time were wonte to vse. Chap.20.
Of fortifying of campes Chap.21.
In what place a campe should be pitched Cap.22.
In what forme the campe should stande Cap.23.
Wyth what thinges a campe should be fortifyed Cap.24.
How a campe should be fenced whē the ennemye is at hand. 25.
How the ponge souldiours may be trayned that in the battell they keepe good order, their aray, and space betwene one and an other. Chap.26.
How much space ꝑ souldiours must go and come when they be brought forth to marche: and how often they must be exercised in a moneth. chap.27.
Of the perswation to warrefare, and of the manhoode of ꝑ Romaynes. chap.28.

The seconde Booke.

INto how many kindes the Art of warre may be deuided Chapter.1.
Howe the Legionary souldiours, and those that are sent for ayde, do differ chap 2.
The cause why Legions haue beene wasted & deminished.3
What nomber of Legions the aunciente Romaynes ledde with them to the warres. chap.4.
How a legion shoulde be ordered. chap.5.
How manye cohortes or bands shoulde be in one legion, and how manye souldiours should be in one bande. chap 6.
Names & degrees of the principal men of the Legion. ca.7.
The names of them which ledde ꝑ auncient orders of souldiours. chap 8.
Of the office of him that is called Præfectus legionis, the Lieuetenantes deputye. chap.9.
Of the office of the chiefe ouerseer of the campe cap.10.
Of the office of the maister of the artificers. cap.11.
Of the office of the cheife Tribune or colonell. cap.12.

C 24631

The contentes.

Of the Centuries or hundredes of the footemen, and of their enſignes, penoncels or banners. chap. 13.
Of the troupes of the legionarye horſemen called Turmæ. chap. 14.
After what ſort the legions ſhould be ſet in order chap. 15.
After what maner the Triarians and alſo the Centurions ſhould be armed chap. 16.
How that the battell beinge ioyned, the complete harneſſed men ſtoode as a wall. chap 17.
The names of ſouldiours, and other orders and degrees, ſhould be written in the ſhieldes. chap 18.
Beſydes the ſtrength of the body, ỳ cunninge or knowledge of cyphers and counting muſt be regarded in ſouldiours chap. 19.
Howe ſouldiours ought to put aſyde the halfe parte of anye gift in money, or other thing geuen them, into the keping of ſuch as are ſtanderde bearers. chap 20.
Promotions and dignityes in the legion are ſo diſpoſed and ordered, that none is aduaunced thereto, before hee haue paſſed through the 10. bandes or companyes of the legiõ chapter. 21.
What difference is betwene trumpetters, blowers of hornes or ſhawmes and ſuch like. chap. 22.
Of the exerciſe of ſouldiours. chap. 23.
Examples of exhortations and the exerciſe in warlike aſſayres, taken oute of other artes and ſciences chap. 24.
A reherſall of yron tooles and other engines of the legion. chap 25.

The thride Booke.

What maner, or of what nomber an armye ſhould be of chap. 1.
After what maner the health of an armre ſhoulde be mayntayned chap 2.
Wyth how great care & regarde, forage and grayne ought to be prouided for and kept. cap 3.
After what maner we ought to forſee leaſt the ſouldiours do make any ſturre or ſedition. chap 4.

The contentes.

Howe many kindes there be of engines of warre. Cap. 5.
Howe greate subtiltye oughte to be vsed when an armye is remoued, the ennemyes being nighe. Chap. 6.
After what maner great ryuers may be passed ouer. Cap. 7
After what maner a Campe should be placed. Chap 8.
What maner, and howe great things should be considered, to vnderstande whether we oughte to fight with skirmishinge or with open battel Chap. 9.
What must be done if a Captaine haue an armye out of vse of fighting, or an armye of ponge souldiours Chap. 10
What thinges should be done the same day that the open or set battell should be ioyned Chap. 11.
We must diligently search oute what minds the souldiours be of, when they should fight. Chap. 12.
Howe a meete place should be chosen to fight in. Cap. 13.
How an armye may be set in order, that in the battel, it may be inuincible, or not easelye ouercome. Cap. 14.
The maner of measuring by the foote, howe muche space in the battell should be betweene euery man in length, or in breadth, and howemuch betwixt euery rancke. Chap. 15.
How to set the horsemen in order. Cap. 16.
Of kindes or rescues which are placed after the battell. Chap. 17.
In which place the first and chiefe Captaine ought to stand, in which the seconde, and in which the third. Cap. 18.
With what meanes the valiantnes and deceytes of the ennemyes in the battell may be withstande and preuented. Chap. 19.
How many kindes or wayes an open or set battell is ioyned, and howe also that armye which is lesse in nomber and strength, may obtayne the victorye. Chap. 20.
That a way should be geuen to the ennemyes to depart, that they maye more easelye be destroyed in flyinge awaye. Chap. 21.
After what maner you maye depart from the ennemye if you do not like of your purposed battell. Chap. 22.
Of Camels and men of armes vpon barbed horses. Cap. 23

C 24631

The contentes.

After what maner we maye withstande Chariottes armed with hookes, and also Elephantes in the battel. Cap. 24
What oughte to be done if eyther parte or the whole armye do flye. Chap. 25.
Generall rules of warres. Chap. 26.

The fourth Booke.

That Cittyes oughte to be fenced eyther with handy-worke or nature, or both. Chap. 1.
That walles shoulde not be made streighte, but with many coignes. Chap 2.
After what sort earth maye be heaped vppe and ioyned to a wall, so that it shall neuer be beaten downe. Cap 3.
Of Portclises, and how gates may be safe from burninge. Chap. 4.
Of making ditches. Cap. 5.
Howe to keepe them, which stande on the wall, harmeless from the arrowes of the ennemyes Cap. 6.
By what meanes it ought to be foreseene, that they that are besieged, be not famished. Chap. 7.
What kinde of thinges must be prepared for the defence of walles. Chap. 8.
What ought to be done if store of stringes or cordes do fayle Chap. 9.
What shoulde be done that the besieged lacke not water. Chap. 10.
If salt should fayle in the Cittye, what ought to be done. 11.
What shoulde be done when the ennemye doth first assaulte the walles Cap. 12.
A reherfall of engines with which the walles are assaulted Chap. 13.
Of the battering Ramme, the hooke, & the snayle. Cap. 14.
Of Shedoes deskes or peintelles and countermure 15.
Of engines called Musculi. Chap. 16.
Of towers mouable. Cap. 17.
Howe the mouable tower may be set on fyre Cap. 18.

Howe

The contentes.

Howe you maye make your walles higher. Cap 19.
By what meanes the earth maye be digged that the engine can do no harme. Cap. 20.
Of ladders & the frame of timber wt roopes, of the bridge, and of the sweape. Cap. 21
Of the lesser kinde of ordinaunce called Balista: of the greater called Onager: of that whiche is called Scorpio, of crossebowes called Arcubalistæ: of slingstaues & slinges, by the whiche the walles are defended. Cap. 22.
Against ỹ engine named a Ramme be flockebeddes or mattresses very good, also ropes and great pillers. Cap. 23.
Of vndermyning & throwing downe walles that way. 24.
What the townes men oughte to do, if the ennemyes brust into the Cittye. Cap. 25.
What heede oughte to be taken least the ennemyes prouilye take the wall. Cap. 26.
How the townes men may be decepued. Cap. 27.
What the besiegers ought to do, that they be not entrapped of the townes men Cap. 28.
Wyth what kinde of ordinaunce Cittyes may be defended. Cap. 29.
Howe you may knowe what height your ladders and other engines ought to be of Cap. 30.
Preceptes to be obserued in makinge warre vpon ỹ sea. 31.
The names of the Iudges which gouerned ỹ Nauyes ca. 32
Whye the Lyburnian Gallyes were so called. cap. 33.
With what dilligence the gallyes or shippes called Liburnæ are made. cap. 34.
What heede must be takē in cutting downe of timber. ca. 35
In what monethes timber should be cut downe cap. 36.
Of ỹ bignes and fashiō of Gallyes called Liburnæ. cap. 37.
The names and nomber of the windes chap. 38.
In what monethes mē may saile safely, more thē others. 39
After what maner the signes and tokens of tempestes may be obserued chap. 40.
Of signes and tokens whereby to know ỹ clearenes & troublesomenes of the ayre chap. 41.

Of

C 24631

The contentes.

Of ebbinge and flowing of the sea chap.42.
Of the knowledge of places, and of the rowers. chap.43.
Of weapons and ordinaunce of shippes. chap.44.
Howe wyles may be wrought on the sea. chap.45.
What shoulde be done when open battell is ioyned on ỳ sea. chap.46.

Then ende of the contentes.

Faultes escaped in the printinge,

whereof the first nomber signifyeth the leafe, the letter a. the first syde, and b. the seconde syde.

In the Epistle dedicatorye, b. for translation thereof, reade translating thereof.
Folio 3. a. continuance, reade countenance.
Folio. 3. reade souldiours for souldiour.
Folio. 8. Grecians, reade Gratians.
Folio. 9. b. army, reade Campe.
Folio. 10. a. standers, read standerds.
Folio. 10. a. especial, reade especially.
Folio. 13. a. Legionacij, reade Legionarij.
Folio. 13. b. Gaternas, reade Cateruas.
Folio. 14. a. possible, reade possibly.
Folio. 15 b. harueſt, reade harneſde.
Folio. 20. a. footement, reade footemen.
Folio. 24. readde, saye reede.
In ỳ third booke the Prologue, When worthye, read Dmen worthye.
Fol. 34 a. it, reade is.
Fol. 40. a. Hasti, reade Hastati.
Fol. 41. a. rankes, reade orders.
Fol. 48 a. Promuscide, read Promuscidē.
Fol. 53. b. vppresse, reade oppresse.
Fol. 56. b. bardes, reade boardes.

Folio.

Folio. 63. a. there lacketh before the beginninge of this leafe, all these wordes followinge: ioyned on the righte syde, the East Northeast winde: on the lefte syde, ꝑ East. Southeast winde. The plaine southwinde.

Folio 64. a. Pilats, reade Pilors.

FINIS.

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